

word of mouth more than twenty Books to disciples.<sup>4</sup> From another passage we gather that he estimated Fuh-säng's Books, with which he was well acquainted, at 28; but he says nothing of the visit to Fuh of Ch'au Ts'ö. Wei Hwang, of the first century of our era, says that when Ch'au Ts'ö went to him, Fuh-säng, being over 90, was unable to speak plainly, and made use of a (? grand-) daughter to repeat what he said; and that her dialect being different from Ts'ö's, he lost 2 or 3 in every ten of her words, supplying them as he best could according to his conception of the meaning.<sup>5</sup> This last account, as being more marvellous, has become the accepted history of the manner in which so many Books of the Shoo were recovered through Fuh-säng. Even Regis follows it, as if he had not been aware of the more trustworthy narrative of Sze-ma Ts'een.<sup>6</sup>

3. The statement of Sze-ma Ts'een, that Fuh-säng found again the tablets containing 29 'p'ien,'—Books, or parts of Books,—of the Shoo, is repeated by Lew Hin in his list of the Books in the imperial library under his charge, of which I have given some account in the *proleg.* to vol. I. pp. 3-5. It is there expressly said, moreover, that there were, in the classical department of the library, '29 portions of the text of the Shang Shoo.' Those Books were:—

The 29 Books of Fuh-säng. 'The Canon of Yaou;' 'The Counsels of Kaou-yaou;' 'The Tribute of Yu;' 'The Speech at Kan;' 'The Speech of T'ang;' 'The Pwan-käng;' 'The Day of the Supplementary Sacrifice of Kaou-tsung;' 'The Conquest of Le by the Chief of the West;' 'The Viscount of Wei;' 'The Great Speech;' 'The Speech at Muh;' 'The Great Plan;' 'The Metal-bound Coffin;' 'The Great Announcement;' 'The Announcement to K'ang;' 'The Announcement about Drunkenness;' 'The Timber of the Tsze-tree;' 'The Announcement of Shaou;' 'The Announcement about Lō;' 'The Numerous Officers;' 'Against Luxurious Ease;' 'Prince Shih;' 'The Numerous Regions;' 'On the Establishment of Government;' 'The Testamentary Charge;' 'Lien on Punishments;' 'The Charge to Prince Wän;' 'The Speech at Pe;' and 'The Speech of the Duke of Ts'in.'

It was discovered subsequently, that 'The Canon of Shun' was incorporated by Fuh-säng with that of Yaou; the 'Yih and Tseih' with 'The Counsels of Kaou-yaou;' 'The Charge of king K'ang'

<sup>4</sup> See Gian-kwō's Preface, p. 13.

<sup>5</sup> See the 古文尚書寬詞卷一, p. 5.

<sup>6</sup> See Y-King, vol. I., pp. 104-106.

mentioned. The former tells us that from his youth he had doubted 'all the talk about modern text and ancient text,' and that, afterwards, having met with some dissertations of Woo Ch'ing, he was delighted with the agreement of their views, and tried to obtain the Work of Woo mentioned above. Disappointed in this, he published Fuh-säng's Books with his own commentary, and prefixed the dissertations of Woo.<sup>4</sup> The latter published 'Discussions on and Explanations of the Shang Shoo,'<sup>5</sup> in ten *kuen*. He does not appear to have seen Woo Ch'ing's Writings; but he goes beyond him in his animosity to the ancient text and commentary. In eight of his *kuen*, he explains Fuh-säng's Books; the remaining two are devoted to an exposure (as he thinks) of the falsehood of the ancient text. So strongly had the views of these and other critics taken possession of the scholars of Ming, that in A.D. 1,643 a memorial was presented to the emperor Chwang-lê<sup>6</sup>, praying that the Books peculiar to the ancient text might be cast out, and the subjects at the competitive examinations be taken only from Fuh-säng's. The dynasty was in its death-throes. The poor emperor had his hands and head more than full with the invading Manchöos; and while the empire passed from his sway, the ancient text was allowed to keep its place.

Under the present dynasty, the current of opinion seems to run, as in the Ming, against the Books, Commentary, and Preface ascribed to Gan-kwö. The works of Wang Ming-shing and Keang Shing, of which I have made much use in my notes, speak in almost every page, in the most unmeasured terms, of 'the false K'ung.' The ancient text, however, is not without its defenders. So far as the government is concerned, things remain as they have been since the T'ang dynasty. The editors of Yung-ching's Shoo do not take up the argument. They give prominence, indeed, in their Introduction, to the opinions of Choo He and his followers, but pass no judgment of their own; and they use equal care in unfolding the meaning of the suspected portions, and of those which all acknowledge.

4. I shall conclude this chapter on the history of the Shoo with an exposition of the grounds on which I cherish for myself a confidence in the authenticity of the ancient text and Gan-kwö's commentary on it, and some discussion of the principal arguments advanced on the other side. Minor arguments, based on the language

<sup>4</sup> The title of his Work is 尚書敘錄. 尚書辨解. 莊烈愍  
皇帝, A.D. 1628-1648. <sup>5</sup> See Maou's Writings of the Shoo, Ch. I. p. 1.



to myself long ago that a complete copy of the Shoo, as it was before the time of the Ts'in dynasty, might possibly be found in Japan. I am pleased to discover that the same idea has been entertained at different times by Chinese scholars. Very decided expression was given to it in the 11th century by Gow-yang Sew,<sup>1</sup> from whom we have a song upon a 'Knife of Japan,' which concludes with:—

'When Sen Fuh went across the sea,  
The books had not been burned;  
And there the hundred *p'een* remain,  
As in the waste inurned.

Strict laws forbid the sending them  
Back to our Middle Land;  
And thus it is that no one here  
The old text has in hand.'<sup>2</sup>

The critics for the most part treat the idea with contempt; and yet in the year 1697, the 36th of K'ang-he, a petition was presented, requesting the emperor to appoint a commission to search for the Shang Shoo, beyond the seas.<sup>3</sup> Japan is now partially opened. By and by, when its language is well known, and access is had to all its literary stores, this matter will be settled.

<sup>1</sup> 歐陽修, styled 永叔. He died A.D. 1073. <sup>2</sup> All of the song which I have seen runs:—傳聞其國居大海, 土壤沃饒風俗好, 前朝貢獻屢往來, 士人往往工詞藻, 徐福行時書未焚, 逸書百篇今尚存, 令嚴不許傳中國, 舉世無人識古文. See the 經義考書二, p. 8. <sup>3</sup> See Wrongs of the Shoo, Ch. I, pp. 3, 4.

國	望	種	興	來	參	家	未	之	弱	永
其	其	營	平	宿	宿	宿	門	門	帝	帝
寧	寧	塞	定	藏	藏	藏	參	參	日	日
甯	甯	昏	華	麓	麓	麓	身	身	咨	咨
甯	甯	徒	徽	庭	庭	庭	洪	洪	翼	翼
甯	甯	南	泰	智	智	智	流	流	輔	輔
甯	甯	濱	衛	營	營	營	而	而	佐	佐
甯	甯	舒	宗	形	形	形	明	明	卿	卿
甯	甯	享	疏	折	折	折	發	發	洲	洲
甯	甯	衣	事	心	心	心	爾	爾	渚	渚
甯	甯	制	哀	同	同	同	興	興	與	與
甯	甯	金	勞	弗	弗	弗	以	以	登	登
甯	甯	備	餘	辰	辰	辰	旅	旅	鳥	鳥
甯	甯	萬	仲	往	往	往	忘	忘	臥	臥



allowing the 28 or 30 years of their associate rule to drop altogether out of his chronology.<sup>2</sup> Kwang's standard tables place Yaou's first year in B.C. 2,357, (or 2,356); the Bamboo Books place it in 2,145. There is thus a difference of rather more than 200 years between them. As we found them both wrong in regard to the reign of Chung-k'ang, we must hence conclude that they are wrong also in regard to the period which we are now examining.

It has been generally supposed that Yaou's directions to the astronomers He and Ho, in the first Book of the Shoo, furnished data sufficiently certain to enable us to determine his era. The Shoo does not tell us indeed, in what year of his reign Yaou delivered those instructions, but the chronologers have all assumed that it was in his first year. The remarks of Mr. Chalmers on the point, in the appendix to this chapter, show that the value of Yaou's observations for chronological determinations has been overrated. The emperor tells his officers, that, among other indications which would enable them to fix the exact period of the cardinal points of the year, the vernal equinox might be ascertained by observing the star *neaou*; the summer solstice by observing the star *ho*; the autumnal equinox by observing the star *heu*; and the winter solstice by observing the star *maou*. It was assumed by the scholars of the Han dynasty that by *neaou* was to be understood the constellation or equatorial space then called *sing*,<sup>3</sup> beginning at  $\alpha$  Hydra, and including a space of  $2^\circ$ ; and that by *ho* was to be understood *fang*,<sup>4</sup> corresponding to

Scorpio, and including  $4^\circ$ . It was assumed also, that, as the result of the observation (of the manner of which the Shoo says nothing), *sing* would be found to pass the meridian at six o'clock in the evening, at the vernal equinox; and that the other stars mentioned would pass it at the same hour at the seasons to which they were referred.

I do not think there is any reason to call these assumptions in question. The scholars of Han, ignorant of the fact of the procession of the equinoxes, could not have arbitrarily fixed the particular stars to suit their chronological views;—their determination of them must have been in accordance with the voice of accredited tradition. Supposing that the stars were all what it is now believed they were, to what conclusions are we led by them as to the era of Yaou?

Bunsen tells us that Ideler, computing the places of the constellations backwards, fixed the accession of Yaou at B.C. 2,163,<sup>5</sup> which is

<sup>2</sup> See the 前漢書, 律歷下, p. 15.  
A.C., III., p. 400.

<sup>3</sup> 星 <sup>4</sup> 房

<sup>5</sup> Place of Egypt,

only 18 years before the date in the Bamboo Books. On the other hand, J. B. Biot finds in the statements of the Shoo a sufficient confirmation of the date in the received chronology, B.C. 2,357.<sup>6</sup> Freret was of opinion that the observations left an uncertainty to the extent of 3 degrees, leaving a margin of 210 years.<sup>7</sup> It seems to myself that it is better not to insist on pressing what Yaou says about the stars of the equinoxes and solstices into the service of chronology at all. Gaubil, Biot, and the other writers on the subject, all quote Yaou's observations so far as they had astronomical reference; but they take no notice of other and merely popular indications, which he delivered to his officers to help them to ascertain the seasons. They would know the spring, he tells them, by the pairing of birds and beasts, and by the people's beginning to disperse into the country on their agricultural labours. Analogous indications are mentioned for summer and autumn; till in the winter time the people would be found in their cosy corners, and birds and beasts with their coats downy and thick. Taken as a whole, Yaou's instructions to He and Ho are those of a chief speaking popularly, and not after the manner of a philosopher or astronomer. We must not look for exactness in his remarks about the cardinal stars. The mention of them in the earliest portion of the Shoo proves that its compiler, himself, as I showed in the last chapter, of a later date, had traditions or written monuments of a high antiquity at his command; but Yaou was as likely to be speaking of what he had received from his predecessors as of what he had observed for himself; and those predecessors may not have lived in China, but in another region from which the Chinese came. If it were possible to fix the exact century, in which it was first observed that the stars of the equinoxes and solstices were *neou* and *heu*, *ho* and *maou*, that century may have been anterior to Yaou, and not the one in which he lived.

7. From the review which I have thus taken of the different periods of Chinese history, documents purporting to belong to which are preserved in the Shoo, it will be seen that the year B.C. 775 is the earliest date which can be said to be determined with certainty. The exact year in which the Chow dynasty commenced is not known; and as we ascend the stream of time, the two schemes current among the Chinese themselves diverge more widely from each other, while to neither of them can we accord our credence. The accession of Yu, the first sovereign of the nation, was probably at some time in

<sup>6</sup> *Etudes sur l'Astronomie Indienne et Chinoise*, pp. 361-366.

<sup>7</sup> Bunsen, *as above*; p. 401.



or too long; but here it was not found to deviate in either direction, and its length on midsummer-day was to the length of the gnomon as 15 to 80. The distance assigned to the sun is in fact the earth's radius, and was a natural inference from the plane figure of the earth, taken in connection with the different elevation of the sun in different latitudes. From the same premises it was also inferred that the shadow would be all awry at noon in places far east or far west of Loh;—those on the east being too near the morning sun, and those on the west too near the evening sun. The following legend<sup>4</sup> may be quoted as illustrative of the supposed nearness of the sun to the earth. "There is a country in the far west, in the place of the setting sun, where every evening the sun goes down with a noise like thunder, and the king of the country leads out a thousand men on the city wall to blow horns and beat gongs and drums, as the only means of keeping little children from being frightened to death by the unearthly roaring of the monster." The writers of the early Han dynasty hesitate not to affirm that the experiment to prove the deviation of the shadow at noon was made with all the necessary apparatus,—clepsydras, gnomons, &c., and found successful. But the clepsydra is not mentioned in any authentic writing of earlier date than the Han; and we may safely conclude that this, as well as some other instruments mentioned by interpreters of the classics, and in the Chow-le, was unknown to the ancient Chinese. The clepsydra is described by Aristotle (a.c. 384—322).

The Chinese have made attempts at various times to calculate the distance of the sidereal heavens. In the History of Tsin<sup>5</sup> the result of a calculation is given with amusing minuteness. It is said—"By the method of right-angled triangles the distance between heaven and earth was found to be 81,304 *le*, 30 paces, 5 feet, 3 inches, and 6 tenths!" Another calculator<sup>6</sup> gives 216,781  $\frac{1}{2}$  *le*. The diameter of the sun is given by one writer as 1000 *le*;<sup>7</sup> and he is said to be 7000 *le* below the heavens (the firmament).

2. "The first calendars of the Greeks were founded on rude observations of the rising and setting of certain stars, as Orion, the Pleiades, Arcturus &c."<sup>1</sup> The same

may be said of the calendars of the Chinese. Even after Meton and

The Seasons.

Callippus the Chinese calendar must have been founded on very "rude" observations indeed. During the two centuries and a half embraced by Confucius' History of the later Chow dynasty, the commencement of the year fell back a whole month. This is demonstrable from the dates of the 36 eclipses, of which a list will be found subjoined, and from a variety of references to months, and days of the cycle of 60, which occur throughout the History. It is probable that an error of another month was committed before the fall of the dynasty in the 3d century a.c. The rapid derangement of the months, and consequently of the seasons during this period, however, most probably arose from the adoption of some erroneous system of intercalation, invented to supersede the troublesome observations of the stars from month to month. And the consequence was, that the knowledge of the stars came to be cultivated only for purposes of astrology,—a science in which accuracy is no object. Hence even at the present day, the signs of the zodiac, or the 28 mansions of the moon, are most frequently represented not as they appear now, but as they appeared to Yaou and Shun.<sup>2</sup> The earliest account, which has any claim to authenticity, of the stars employed to mark the cardinal signs of the zodiac, is in the Canon of Yaou. According to

<sup>4</sup> 異域志. <sup>5</sup> 晉志. <sup>6</sup> 張揖. <sup>7</sup> 徐整長曆.

<sup>1</sup> See Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, Article Calendar.

<sup>2</sup> Shoo, Pt. I. Bk. I.

## ECLIPSES RECORDED BY THE ANCIENT CHINESE.—Continued.

靈王	12	39	II	53	XVIII	558	January	8	II	53	Noon.
	14	40	VIII	54	XIX	557	May	23	VI*	54	Scarcely visible at Sunrise
	19	45	X	53	XX	552	August	25	X	53	Noon.
	20	46	IX	47	XXI	551	August	13	IX	47	Noon.
	20	46	X	37	XXII	551	September		X		No Eclipse.
	22	48	II	10	XXIII	550	December	30	II	10	Visible at Sunrise.
	23	49	VII	1 total.	XXIV	548	June	12	VII	1	Total about 1h. 15m. P.M.
	23	49	VIII	30	XXV	546	July		VIII		No Eclipse.
	26	52	XII	12	XXVI	545	October	7	XI	12	Visible in the Morning.
景王	10	3	IV	41	XXVII	534	March	11	IV	41	Forenoon.
	16	11	VI	34	XXVIII	536	April	10	V	54	Forenoon.
	20	15	VI	11	XXIX	524	August	14	IX	10	Afternoon.
	24	17	VII	10	XXX	520	June	3	VII	19	Forenoon.
	25	18	XII	10	XXXI	519	November	16	XII	10	Afternoon.
敬王	2	20	V	52	XXXII	517	April	1	V	32	Sunrise.
	3	27	XII	48	XXXIII	510	November	7	XII	48	Forenoon.
	15	38	III	46	XXXIV	504	February	10	III	48	Noon.
	23	40	XI	3	XXXV	497	September	15	X	3	Forenoon.
	25	48	VIII	17	XXXVI	494	July	15	VIII	17	Forenoon.

\* Intercalary



南巡狩濟江中流有二黃龍負舟人皆懼禹笑曰吾受命于天屈力以養人生性也死命也奚憂龍哉龍于是曳尾而逝  
 八年春會諸侯于會稽殺防風氏夏六月雨金于夏邑秋八月帝陟于會稽禹立四十五年禹薦益於天七年禹崩三年喪畢天下歸啟  
 帝啟  
 元年癸亥帝卽位于夏邑大饗諸侯于鈞臺諸侯從帝歸于冀都大饗諸侯于漆臺二年費侯伯益出就國王帥師伐有扈大戰于甘六年伯益薨祠之八年帝使孟涂如巴泄訟十年帝巡狩舞九韶于天穆之野十一年放王子武觀于西河○十五年武觀以西河叛彭百壽帥師征西河武觀來歸○十六年陟

*Note.* On his way to the south, when crossing the Kiang, in the middle of the stream, two yellow dragons took the boat on their backs. The people were all afraid; but Yu laughed and said, 'I received my appointment from Heaven, and labour with all my strength to nourish men. To be born is the course of nature; to die is by Heaven's decree. Why be troubled by the dragons?' On this the dragons went away, dragging their tails.

- 4 In his 8th year, he assembled the princes at Hwuy-k'e,<sup>2</sup> when he put the chief of Fang-fung to death. In the summer, in the 8th month, it rained gold in the capital city of Hsia. In the autumn, in the 8th month, he died at Hwuy-k'e.

*Note.* Yu reigned (as associate, or as sovereign) 45 years. He presented Yi to Heaven, and died seven years after. When the three years of mourning were ended, the empire turned to K'e (his son).

#### 11. THE EMPEROR K'E.

- 1 In his 1st year, which was *kwei-hae*<sup>1</sup> (10th of cycle, = B.C. 1,978), when he came to the throne in the capital city of Hsia,<sup>2</sup> he made a great feast to the princes in the tower of Keun,<sup>3</sup> after which they followed him back to the capital in K'e, when he made a second great feast to them in the tower of Suen. In his 2d year, Pih-yih, the prince of Pa, left the court, and went to his State. The king led his forces to punish the prince of Hoo, when there was a great battle in Kan.<sup>4</sup> In his 6th year, Pih-yih died, and the emperor appointed a sacrifice to him.<sup>5</sup> In his 8th year, he sent Mung T'oo to Pa, to preside over litigations. In his 10th year, he made a tour of inspection, and celebrated a complete service of Shun's music in the wilderness of T'een-muh. In his 11th year, he banished his youngest son, Woo-kwan, beyond the western Ho. In his 15th year, Woo-kwan with the people about the western Ho rebelled. The baron Shou of P'ang led a force to punish them, when Woo-kwan returned to his allegiance. In his 14th year, the king died.

11. 1 From 壬子, the 1st year of Yu, to this 癸亥, both inclusive, are twelve years; Yu must have died in 己未, leaving 8 complete years, before K'e's accession. This is the rule in these Annals all through the Hsia dyn. The years of mourning are left between the deceased emperor and his successor; but this interregnum varies from 2 to 4 years.

2 This is the city in par. 4 of the last reign. Yu had moved his capital, or made a second one. A dia. of Kwei-tih dep. is still so called.

Near or in this was the tower of Keun. 諸侯從 may be construed by itself:—'the princes agreed to follow him;' as if the feast had been a political gathering to secure the throne to K'e. 4 See 'The Speech at Kan.' 5 This account does not agree with the account of the death of Yi, which is often attributed to the Annals, and which was no doubt in some of the Bamboo Books; viz. that 'Yi was aiming at the throne, and K'e put him to death' (益干啟立啟殺之).

元年庚辰帝即位使豕韋氏復國。

夏衰昆吾豕韋相繼爲伯

三年陟

帝發

一名后敬或曰發惠

元年乙酉帝即位諸夷賓于王門再保塘會于上池諸夷入舞○七年陟泰山震

帝癸

一名

元年壬辰帝即位居斟鄩○三年築傾宮毀容臺畎夷入于岐以叛○六年岐踵戎來賓○十年五星錯行夜中星隕如雨地震伊洛竭○十一年會諸侯于仍有繆氏逃歸遂滅有繆○十三年遷于河南初作輦○十四年扁帥師伐岷山

- 1 His 1st year was *hang-shin* (17th of cycle, = a.c. 1,600), when he came to the throne. He restored the representative of the House of Ch'e-wei to his State.

*Note.* In the decay of the Hsia, chiefs of Keun-woo and Ch'e-wei succeeded one another as Head of the princes.

- 2 In his 3d year he died.

#### XVI. THE EMPEROR FAN.

*Note.* Also called the emperor King; and Fa-hwuy.

- 1 In his 1st year, which was *yii-yew* (22d of cycle, = a.c. 1,595), when he came to the throne, various wild tribes came and made their submission at the king's gate.<sup>1</sup> He again repaired the walls. There was a meeting on the upper pool, when the wild people came in, and performed their dances. In his 7th year, he died. Mount T'ao shook.

#### XVII. THE EMPEROR KWEL.

*Note.* Called also K'ei.

- 1 In his 1st year, which was *jin-shin* (29th of cycle, = a.c. 1,588), when he came to the throne, he dwelt in Chin-sin. In his 3d year, he built the King palace, and pulled down the Yung tower.<sup>2</sup> The K'uen hordes penetrated as far as K'e, with the standard of revolt.<sup>3</sup> In his 6th year, the hordes of K'e-chung<sup>4</sup> came to make their submission. In his 10th year, the five planets went out of their courses. In the night, stars fell like rain. The earth shook. The E and Loh became dry. In his 11th year, he assembled the princes in Jing, when the chief of Yew-min fled home, on which the emperor extinguished Yew-min.<sup>5</sup> In his 13th year, he removed to the south of the Ho.<sup>6</sup> He made for the first time men-drawn carriages.<sup>7</sup> In his 14th year, P'een led the imperial forces, and smote Min-san.<sup>8</sup>

xv. 1 王門 should probably be 玉門, 'the gate of gems,'—one of the gates of the palace, so called.

xvi. 1 The meaning of 再保至池 is very much debated. See Hsiao Ch'in-fung, *in loc.*

xvii. 1 This, no doubt, was in the dia. of Kung, dep. Ho-san. 2 For conjectures on the meaning of the names here, see Hsiao, *in loc.*

3 Hsiao thinks this par. belongs to the reign of king Muh or king E of Chow.

4 The country of K'e-chung, (岐—歧) or 'the people who walked on their toes,' without the heel touching the ground, is placed beyond the Moving sands.

5 See on the time of Shao-kang. The Min family occupied the State of Jing.

6 Some city is intended; but commentators are not agreed which.

7 These



仲王 庸名 元年丁丑王即位居亳命卿士伊尹○四年陟  
 太甲 至名 元年辛巳王即位居亳命卿士伊尹伊尹放太  
 甲于桐乃自立  
 約按伊尹自立蓋  
 誤以攝政爲真爾  
 七年王潛出自桐殺伊尹天大霧三日乃立其  
 子伊陟伊陟命復其父之田宅而中分之  
 約按此文與前後  
 不類蓋後世所益  
 十年大饗于太廟初視方明○十二年陟  
 沃丁 絢名

## III. CHUNG-JIN.

Note. Named Tung.

- 1 In his 1st year, which was *ting-ch'ow* (14th of cycle, = B.C. 1,543), when he came to the throne, he dwelt in Poh, and confirmed the appointment of E Yin. In his 4th year, he died.

## IV. T'AE-K'EH.

Note. Named Che.

- 1 In his 1st year, which was *sin-ze* (18th of cycle, = B.C. 1,539), when he came to the throne, he dwelt in Poh, and confirmed the appointment of E Yin. E Yin sent T'ae-k'eh away, and confined him in T'ung, seizing the throne himself.<sup>1</sup>

Note by Yü. It is a mistake to say this. The truth is that he only acted as regent.

- 2 In his 7th year, the king privately escaped from T'ung, and put E Yin to death. The sky was overspread with mists for three days, when he raised to office Yin's sons, E Chih and E Fan, ordered their father's fields and houses to be restored, and equally divided between them.

Note by Yü. This par. does not accord with the text before and after it. It is probably, the addition of an after time.

- 3 In his 10th year, he celebrated a great service to all his ancestors in the Grand ancestral temple. For the first time he sacrificed to the Intelligences of the four quarters.<sup>2</sup> In his 12th year, he died.

## V. YUH-TING.

Note. Named Hsun.

iv. 1 This and the next notice are so diff. from the current and classical accounts of E Yin and T'ae-k'eh, that the friends of these Annals are in great perplexity about them. Hsü Chün-fung would refer them to the 'Fragmentary Words' of the Bamboo Books. Sou Wän-t'ing contents himself with saying,

after the original commentator, that they are the additions of a later hand.

2 方明-四方之神明. This is the easiest interpretation. Some suppose the 六宗 of Can. of Shun, p. 5, to be meant

七年有桑穀生于朝○十一年命巫咸禱于山  
川○二十六年西戎來賓王使王孟聘西戎○  
三十一年命費侯中衍爲車正○三十五年作  
實車○四十六年大有年○五十八年城蒲姑  
○六十一一年東夷來賓○七十五年陟  
太戊遇祥桑側身修行三年之後遠方慕明  
德重譯而至者七十六國商道復興廟爲太  
宗  
仲丁  
莊名  
元年辛丑王卽位自亳遷于囂于河上○六年  
征藍夷○九年陟  
外壬  
發名  
元年庚戌王卽位居囂邠人姓人叛○十年陟

- 1 Hoo, as his principal ministers. In his 7th year, a mulberry tree and a stalk
- 2 of grain grew up together in the court. In his 11th year, he commanded Woo
- 3 Hsien to pray to the hills and rivers. In his 28th year, the hordes of the West
- came to make their submission. He sent Wang Māng, as his envoy, with presents
- 4 to those hordes. In his 31st year, he appointed Chung-yen, prince of Pe, to be
- 6 master of his carriages. In his 35th year, he made yin carriages.<sup>2</sup> In his
- 7 46th year, there was a very abundant harvest. In his 58th year, he walled
- 8 P'oo-koo.<sup>3</sup> In his 61st year, the nine hordes of the East came to make their
- 9 submission. In his 75th year, he died.

Note. After T'ao-mow met with the warning mulberry tree, he inclined himself to the cultivation of his conduct; and after 3 years, there were 76 States from distant regions, which sent messengers, with interpreters, to his court, in admiration of his wise virtue. The fortunes of Shang again revived. His sacrificial title was T'ao-tsung.

## X. CHUNG-TING.

Note. Named Chung.

- 1 In his 1st year, which was *sin-ch'ow* (38th of cycle, = B.C. 1,390), when he came
- 2 to the throne, he removed from Poh to Gaou<sup>1</sup> on the Ho. In his 6th year, he
- 3 went on an expedition against the hordes of Lau.<sup>2</sup> In his 9th year, he died.

## XI. WAE-JIN.

Note. Named Fa.

- 1 In his 1st year, which was *hang-seuh* (47th of cycle, = B.C. 1,390), when he came
- 2 to the throne, he dwelt in Gaou. The people of P'ei<sup>1</sup> and of Ssen<sup>2</sup> revolted.

<sup>2</sup> Hsiao Ch'iu-fang says these carriages were of roots of the mulberry tree;—perhaps, referring to their colour.

<sup>3</sup> Probably in the pres. dia. of P'ei-hing, dep. T'ing-chow, Shan-tung.

x. 1 Gaou was on a mount Gaou (敖山).

in the pres. dia. of Ho-yin, dep. K'ao-fung. Up to this time, the capital had been the western P'ei. <sup>2</sup> Perhaps in the dia. of Yang-k'ueh, dep. T'ao-yuen, Shen-ai.

xi. 1 P'ei—the pres. sub. dep. of P'ei Chow, dep. of Sea-chow, Kiang-soo. <sup>2</sup> The dia. of Ch'iu-lev, dep. K'ao-fung.



王舊在野及即位知小人之依能保惠庶民  
不侮鰥寡迫其末也繁刑以攜遠殷道復衰

馮辛

名先史記  
作願辛

元庚寅王即位居殷○四年陟

庚丁

名

元甲午王即位居殷○八年陟

武乙

名

元壬寅王即位居殷○三年自

殷遷于河北命周公奭父賜以岐邑○十五年

自河北遷于沫○二十一年周公奭父薨○二

十四年周師伐程戰于畢克之○三十年周師  
伐義渠乃獲其君以歸○三十四年周公季歷

*Note.* This king had lived, when young, away from the court, so that, when he came to the throne, he knew the necessities of the inferior people, protected them with kindness, and allowed no contumely to the wifeless and widows. Towards the end of his reign, however, by multiplying punishments, he alienated the people of distant regions; and the fortunes of Yin again decayed.

#### XXV. FUNG-SIN.

*Note.* Styled Lin-sin in the Historical Records. His name was Sien.

- 1 In his 1st year, which was *kang-yin* (27th of cycle, = a.c. 1,170), when he came  
2 to the throne, he dwelt in Yin. In his 4th year, he died.

#### XXVI. KANG-TING.

*Note.* Named Gaou.

- 1 In his 1st year, which was *k'ang-woo* (31st of cycle, = a.c. 1,166), when he came to  
2 the throne, he dwelt in Yin. In his 8th year, he died.

#### XXVII. WOO-YIH.

*Note.* Named K'eu.

- 1 In his 1st year, which was *jin-yin* (39th of cycle, = a.c. 1,158), he dwelt in Yin.  
2 The prince of Pin removed to Chow near mount K'e.<sup>1</sup> In his 3d year, the king  
3 removed from Yin to the north of the Ho.<sup>2</sup> He confirmed the dignity of T'an-foo as  
4 duke of Chow, and conferred on him the city of K'e. In his 15th year, he  
5 removed from the place he then occupied on the north of the Ho to Mei.<sup>3</sup> In  
6 his 21st year, T'an-foo, duke of Chow, died. In his 24th year, the forces of Chow  
7 wrote Ch'ing. A battle was fought at Peih, which was subdued.<sup>4</sup> In his 30th  
8 year, the forces of Chow attacked E-k'eu,<sup>5</sup> and returned with its ruler as a captive.  
9 In his 34th year, Ke-leih, duke of Chow, came and did homage at court, when  
the king conferred on him 30 *le* of ground, ten pairs of gems, and ten horses.

XXVII. 1 The prince of Pin, who made this removal, was T'an-foo, or king T'an, celebrated in the *Shu*, and by Mencius. K'e-san is still the name of a dia. in Fung-t'ung dep., Shen-se. By this move the House of Chow brought its principal seat nearly 100 miles farther east.

2 I agree with Ch'iu-fung that it is better not to try to identify this 'North of the Ho' with any particular site. 3 See on the 'Announcement about Drunkenness,' par. 1.

4 Ch'ing and Peih were in the dia. of Heen-ning, dep. Se-gua. 5 In the pres. dep. of

西王母來朝，賓于昭宮。秋八月，遷戎于太原。  
 王北征，行流沙千里，積羽千里，征犬戎，取  
 其五王，以東西征于青島所解山三危。西征  
 還履天下億有九萬里。  
 十八年，春正月，王居祗宮。諸侯來朝。二十  
 一年，祭文公薨。二十四年，王命左史史佚夫  
 作記。三十五年，荆人入徐，毛伯遷帥師，敗  
 荆人于滂。三十七年，大起九師，東至于九  
 江，架龍壘以爲梁，遂伐越，至于紆。荆人來貢  
 魯侯鬻麇。五十五年，王會諸侯于塗山。四十五年，  
 五十五年，王陟于祗宮。  
 共王  
 元年，甲寅，春正月，王卽位。四年，王師滅密  
 命。九年，春正月，丁亥，王使內史良錫毛伯遷  
 命。十二年，王陟。

of Wang-moo came to court, and was lodged in the palace of Ch'au. In the autumn, in the 8th month, certain hordes were removed to T'ae-yuen.

Notes. The king, in his expeditions to the north, travelled over the country of the Moving Sands, for 1,000 *li*, and that of 'Heaps of Feathers,' for 1,000 *li*. Then he subdued the hordes of the K'uei, and returned to the east, with their five kings as captives. Westwards, he pushed his expeditions to where the green birds cast their feathers (the hill of San-wei). On these expeditions he travelled over 190,000 *li*.

- 12 In his 18th year, in the spring, in the 1st month, he dwelt in the palace of Che, where the princes came and did homage. In his 21st year, duke Wan of Tse died. In his 24th year, he ordered Jung-foo, the recorder of the Left, to make a Record.<sup>12</sup> In his 35th year, the people of King entered Seu, when Ts'een, baron of Maou, led his forces, and defeated them near the Tse.<sup>14</sup> In his 37th year, the king raised a great force of nine hosts, and proceeded eastward to K'au-keang, where he crossed the water on a bridge of tortoises and iguanadons piled up.<sup>15</sup> After this, he smote the people of Yué as far as Yu. The people of King came with tribute.
- 18 In his 39th year, he assembled the princes at mount T'oo. In his 45th year, Pe, prince of Loo, died. In his 51st year, he made the code of Leu on Punishments, and gave a Charge to the prince of P'oo in Fung.<sup>16</sup> In his 59th year, he died in the palace of Che.

#### VI. KING KUNG.

Notes. Named E.

- 1 His 1st year was *k'eah-yin* (51st of cycle, = B.C. 906), when he came to the throne. In his 4th year, the royal forces extinguished Meihi. In his 9th year, in the spring, in the 1st month, on the day *ting-hae* (24th of cycle), the king made Léang, the recorder of the Interior, convey a Charge to Ts'een, baron of Maou.
- 4 In his 12th year, the king died.

shing, dep. P'ing-yang. 12 It is understood that this Record was a history of the rise and fall of dynasties and States, down to the commencement of the Chow dyn. King Muh had come to himself, and was ashamed of his wars, wanderings, and extravagance. 14 沸濟 See the Tribute of Yu, Pt. ii. p. 10. 15 Hang makes this out to be only a bridge of boats. 16 See the 27th of the Books of Chow.



簡王 夷名  
 紀公之獻○二十一年王陟。  
 厲○八年壬戌晉景○十八年齊國佐來獻玉磬

元年丙子○五年晉景公卒○六年辛巳晉厲○  
 十三年晉厲公卒楚共王會宋平公于湖陽○十  
 四年己丑晉悼王陟。

靈王 泄名

元年庚寅○十四年晉悼公卒○十五年甲辰晉  
 平公元年○二十七年王陟。

景王 貴名

元年丁巳○十三年春有星出婺女十月晉平公  
 卒○十四年庚午晉昭河水赤子龍門三里○十

- 4 of Ts'in died in Hoo.<sup>1</sup> His 8th year was *jin-sen*, the 1st year of duke King of Ts'in.  
 5 In his 18th year, the Aid of the State of Ts'e came to present some musical stones  
 6 of gem, and the boiler which Ts'e had taken from the duke of Ke.<sup>2</sup> In his 21st year, the king died.

## XXII. KING KERN.

Note. Named E.

- 2 His 1st year was *ping-tze* (13th of cycle, = B.C. 584). In his 5th year, the  
 3 duke King of Ts'in died. His 6th year was *sin-see*, the 1st year of duke Le of Ts'in.  
 4 In his 13th year, the duke Le of Ts'in died. The king Kung of Ts'oo had a  
 5 meeting with the duke Ping of Sung in Hoo-yang.<sup>1</sup> In his 14th year, *ke-ch'ue*,  
 the 1st year of duke Taou of Ts'in, the king died.

## XXIII. KING LING.

Note. Named See.

- 2 His 1st year was *kang-yin* (27th of cycle, = B.C. 570). In his 14th year, the  
 3 duke Taou of Ts'in died. His 15th year was *ts'eh-shie*, the 1st year of the duke Ping  
 4 of Ts'in. In his 27th year, he died.

## XXIV. KING KING.

Note. Named Kwei.

- 2 His 1st year was *ting-tze* (54th of cycle, = B.C. 543). In his 13th year, in the  
 3 spring, a star issued from the constellation Woo-neu.<sup>1</sup> In the 10th month, duke Ping  
 4 of Ts'in died. In his 14th year, *ts'ing-scoo*, the 1st year of duke Ch'ao of Ts'in, — the

Ts'ew and Tao Chuan, under the 3d year of duke Ching.

XXIV. 1 'The widow'; — four stars, about the middle of Capricorn.

XXV. 1 Probably in dep. of Keih-gan, Kiang-so.

the present reign. Nothing is said of a far-extending, devastating deluge; nothing of Yu's operations on the mountains, or on the general face of the country, or on any river south of the Ho. Had it been in the accepted history of China, when these Annals were compiled, that Yu performed the more than Herculean tasks which the Shoo ascribes to him, it is unaccountable that they should not have mentioned them.

[ii.] The Shoo presents us with a picture of the government of Shun, which makes it appear to have been wonderfully complete. Not only has he Yu as his prime minister, and Kaou-yaou as minister of Crime; but he has his ministers of Instruction, Agriculture, Works, and Religion; his commissioner of Woods and Forests; his director of Music; his minister of Communication. According to the plan of the Annals, the appointment of all those ministers should have been mentioned; but the only names which they contain are those of Yu and Kaou-yaou. It is clear, that of the two-and-twenty great ministers by whom the Shun of the Shoo is surrounded, the greater number were the invention of speculators and dreamers of a later day, who, regardless of the laws of human progress, wished to place at the earliest period of their history a golden age and a magnificent empire, that should be the cynosure of men's eyes in all time.

If the space which I have given in these prolegomena to the Bamboo Annals appear excessive, the use to which I have turned them, to support the conclusions which I had been led on other grounds to form, must be my excuse. Even if it could be substantiated (which it cannot be), that the Annals were fabricated in the Tsin dynasty, the fact would remain, that their fabricator had taken a more reasonable view of the history of his country than any other of its writers has done, and indicated views, which, I venture to think, will be generally adopted by inquirers in the West. Those who come after me will probably assail the hitherto unchallenged accounts of ancient times with a bolder hand and on a more extensive scale than I have done in the present essay.

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TABLE OF ANCIENT CHINESE CHRONOLOGY.—Continued.

DYNASTY OF SHANG, WITH TITLE OF 王, OR KING.				DYNASTY OF SHANG, WITH TITLE OF 王, OR KING.			
孔甲	K'ung-kia.....	34	a. c. 1,876	乙巳	a. c. 1,611	9	K'ung-kia.....
泉發癸	Kau.....	11	" 1,847	庚辰	" 1,606	8	Hao.....
	Fa.....	19	" 1,836	乙酉	" 1,595	7	Fa.....
	Kwei.....	33	" 1,817	壬辰	" 1,638	31	Kwei.....
DYNASTY OF SHANG, WITH TITLE OF 王, OR KING.				DYNASTY OF SHANG, WITH TITLE OF 王, OR KING.			
湯	T'ang.....	13	a. c. 1,765	乙未	a. c. 1,557	12	T'ang.....
甲丁康	Tao-kia.....	35	" 1,753	亥	" 1,545	2	Wao-ping.....
太沃太	Yuh-t'ing.....	39	" 1,719	丑巳	" 1,543	4	Chung-jin.....
小雍太	T'ao-kang.....	23	" 1,690	辛癸	" 1,539	12	T'ao-kia.....
雍太仲	Sao-k'ia.....	17	" 1,665	壬丁甲	" 1,537	19	Yuh-t'ing.....
太仲外	Yang-ke.....	12	" 1,648	丙辛	" 1,508	5	Sao-k'ia.....
河祖	T'ao-guow.....	75	" 1,630	庚辰	" 1,503	17	Sao-k'ia.....
祖	Chung-ting.....	15	" 1,601	未申	" 1,486	19	Yang-ke.....
祖	Wao-jin.....	18	" 1,548	申巳	" 1,474	75	T'ao-guow.....
祖	Ho-t'ao-k'ia.....	9	" 1,533	壬丁甲	" 1,399	9	Chung-ting.....
祖	Tao-yih.....	19	" 1,524	丙辛	" 1,390	10	Wao-jin.....
祖	Tao-sin.....	16	" 1,505	庚辰	" 1,380	9	Ho-t'ao-k'ia.....
祖	Yuh-kia.....	23	" 1,489	未申	" 1,371	19	Tao-yih.....
祖	Tao-ting.....	23	" 1,464	申巳	" 1,362	14	Tao-sin.....
南	Nao-k'ang.....	23	" 1,452	壬丁丙	" 1,358	8	K'ao-k'ia.....
				亥	" 1,333	9	Tao-ting.....
				丑巳	" 1,334	6	Nao-k'ang.....

upon the people. The title given in the Shoo to Shun's minister of Religion is that of 'Arranger of the Ancestral temple.'<sup>7</sup> The rule of Confucius, that 'parents, when dead, should be sacrificed to according to propriety,'<sup>8</sup> was, doubtless, in accordance with a practice which had come down from the earliest times of the nation.

The spirits of the departed were supposed to have a knowledge of the circumstances of their descendants, and to be able to affect

Ancestors supposed to know the affairs of their descendants, and to be able to affect them.

them. Events of importance in a family were communicated to them before their shrines; many affairs of government were

transacted in the ancestral temple. When Yaou demitted to Shun the business of the government, the ceremony took place in the temple of 'the accomplished ancestor,'<sup>9</sup> the individual to whom Yaou traced his possession of the supreme dignity; and while Yaou lived, Shun, on every return to the capital from his administrative progresses, offered a bullock before the shrine of the same personage.<sup>10</sup> In the same way, when Shun found the toils of government too heavy for him, and called Yu to share them, the ceremony took place in the temple of 'the spiritual ancestor,' the chief in the line of Shun's progenitors. In the remarkable narrative, which we have in the 6th of the Books of Chow, of the duke of Chow's praying for the recovery of his brother, king Woo, from a dangerous illness, and offering to die in his stead, he raises three altars,—to their father, grandfather, and great-grandfather; and prays to them, as having in heaven the charge of watching over their great descendant. When he has ascertained by divination that the king would recover, he declares that he had got Woo's tenure of the throne renewed by the three kings, who had thus consulted for a long futurity of their House.

This case shows us that the spirits of good kings were believed to be in heaven. A more general conclusion is derived from what we read in the 7th of the Books of Shang. The emperor Pwan-käng, irritated by the opposition of the wealthy and powerful Houses to his measures, and their stirring up the people also to murmur against them, threatens them all with calamities to be sent down by his High ancestor, T'ang the Successful. He tells his ministers, that their ancestors and fathers, who had loyally served his predecessors, were now urgently entreating T'ang, in his spirit-state in heaven, to execute great punishments on their descendants. Not only, therefore,

<sup>7</sup> Canon of Shun, p. 23.

<sup>8</sup> Ana., II, 7.

<sup>9</sup> Canon of Shun, p. 4.

<sup>10</sup> *Ib.*, p. 8.



ascribed to Confucius is given and commented on at the end. This Work may serve the student in lieu of many others. It is a monument of industry and research;—beyond all praise.

- 4 I have made frequent reference to the other imperial editions of the Classics, mentioned in proleg. to vol. I, p. 131; especially, to the 春秋傳說彙纂, which embodies the *Chuen* of Tso-k'ew, Kung-yang, and Kuh-lëang.
- 5 欽定周官義疏, 'Discussion of the Meaning of "The Officers of Chow." By imperial authority.' In 48 Books. This Work, with two others on the 'Rites,' was ordered in 1748, the 13th year of the reign K'ien-lung, by the emperor Pure, to complete the labours of his father, the Benevolent, on the Classics. Edward Biot thus characterises it:—'It is worthy to be compared with the best Works executed in Europe on the different parts of the Bible. I should even say that it is superior to them, if I did not fear being accused of partiality' (Introduction to the Translation of 'The Rites of Chow,' p. xxxv.) The eulogy is deserved, so far as the exhaustive research is concerned. In range of thought and speculation, commentaries on the Chinese Classics and the Bible cannot be compared.
- 6 御製日講書經解義, 'Daily Lectures, Explaining the Meaning of the Shoo King. By imperial authority.' In 13 Books. It was ordered by the emperor Benevolent in 1,680. I have often quoted it under the name of 'The Daily Explanation.' It has all the qualities which I ascribed to the sister work on the Four Books, 'being full, perspicuous, and elegant.'
- 7 三山拙齋林先生尚書全解, 'A Complete Explanation of the Shang Shoo, by Lin Chueh-chae of San-shan.' In 40 Books. The author is commonly called Lin Che-k'e; and so I have generally referred to him. His commentary is very voluminous. It is older than Ts'ae Ch'in's, and, in my opinion, superior to it.
- 8 臨川吳澄今文尚書纂言, 'Digest of Remarks on the Modern Text of the Shang Shoo, by Woo Ching of Lin-ch'uen.' In 4 Books. See above, p. 35. This is the commentary of the Yuen dynasty;—terse and original.
- 9 陳氏師凱書蔡傳旁通, 'The Commentary of Ts'ae on the Shoo Illustrated by Ch'in Sze-k'ae.' Published in 6 Books, in 1,520. It is a commentary on Ts'ae Ch'in's commentary. The author draws his illustrations from 88 different Works.
- 10 王耕野先生讀書管見, 'Imperfect Views (views through a tube), by Wang K'ang-yay, of passages in the Shoo.' In 2 Books.

This also is a Work of the Yuen dynasty. The views are sometimes very ingenious.

- 11 王魯齋書疑 'Wang Loo-chae's Doubts about the Shoo.' In 8 chapters. The author was of the Sung dynasty. He is also called Wang Pih (王柏).
- 12 皇清經解 (See proleg. to vol. I., p. 133) contains many Works on the Shoo, or on portions of it. Those which I have made most use of are:—

[i.] 尚書集註音疏 'Comments of himself and others on the Meaning of the Shang Shoo, and on the Pronunciation of the Characters.' The author was a Kēang Shing (江聲), of the district of Woo, dep. Soo-chow. It occupies Books 390-403 of the collection;—a Work of vast learning, but dogmatical.

[ii.] 尚書後案, 'Latest Decisions on the Shang Shoo.' By Wang Ming-shing (王鳴盛), an acquaintance of Kēang Shing, and of the same district. His main object is to bring out the views of Ch'ing K'ang-shing, as the true exposition of the Classic. The Work occupies Books 404-434, and took the author 34 years to complete it. His research is vast; but his object is one-sided.

[iii.] 尚書今古文註疏, 'The Shang Shoo in the Modern and Ancient Text Commented on and Discussed.' Books 735-773. The Work appeared in 1,815. The author was Sun Sing-yen (孫星衍), an officer of high employments. His 'ancient text' is not that current under this designation, but the variations from Fuh-säng's text, which are found in Ch'ing K'ang-shing and other Han writers.

[iv.] 古文尚書撰異, 'The various Readings of the Ancient Text of the Shang Shoo Collected.' Compiled in the reign of K'ien-lung, by Twan Yuh-tsae, (段玉裁). The writer uses the designation 'Ancient Text' in the same way as Sun Sing-yen, Kēang Shing, and Wang Ming-shing. Books 567-599.

[v.] 禹貢錐指, 'The Needle-touch applied to the Tribute of Yu.' Published in the reign K'ang-he, by Hoo Wei (胡渭). The author had previously been employed, with many other officers, in preparing a statistical account of the present empire. The Work cannot be too highly spoken of. Books 27-47.

- 17 古文尚書疏證, 'A Discussion of the Evidence for the Ancient Text of the Shang Shoo.' By Yen Jō-keu (閻若璩); published in



湯入遷，湯始居亳，從先王  
 居，作帝告，釐沃。○湯征諸  
 侯，葛伯不祀，湯始征之，作  
 湯征。○伊尹去亳適夏，既  
 醜有夏，復歸于亳，入自比  
 門，乃遇汝鳩，汝方作汝鳩  
 汝方。○伊尹相湯伐桀，升  
 自陬，遂與桀戰于鳴條之  
 野，作湯誓。○湯既勝夏，欲  
 遷其社，不可，作夏社，疑至。

of the capital. T'ang at first dwelt in Pō, choosing the residence of the first sovereign of his House. Then were made the TE KUH, and the LE YUH.

- 10 When T'ang chastised the various princes, the chief of Kō was not offering the appointed sacrifices. T'ang began his work by chastising him, and then was made the T'ANG CHING.
- 11 E Yin went from Pō to Hea. Indignant with the sovereign of Hea, he returned to Pō; and as he entered by the north gate, met with Joo Kew and Joo Fang. With reference to this were made the JOO KEW, and the JOO FANG.
- 12 E Yin acted as minister to T'ang, and advised him to attack Kē. They went up from E, and fought with him in the wilderness of Ming-t'eaou. Then was made THE SPEECH OF T'ANG.
- 13 When T'ang had vanquished Hea, he wished to change its sacrifices to the Spirit of the land, but concluded not to do so. With

40 Books or chapters (篇), all belonging to the dynasty of Shang, n.c. 1765—1122. More than half of them are lost,—the first five, classed by some among the Books of the Hea dyn.; the 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th; the 13th, 15th, and 16th; the 19th to the 25th; and the 29th. Of the remaining 11 documents, there are only 5 whose genuineness is unchallenged. The order in which they stand, moreover, differs somewhat in the preface as edited by Gen-kwō, and as approved by Ch'ing and other Han scholars. Not. 8. See, from whom the sovereigns of the Shang dyn. traced their descent, was a son of the emp. 嚳, n.c. 2432, whose capital was Pō. Kuh must therefore be the 先王, and

probably the 帝 in 帝告, 'The Announcement to the Emperor.' 釐沃 may mean 'The Rule of Enrichment.'

10. 湯征, 'The Punitive Expedition of T'ang.' See Men. III. Pt. II. v., and the Announcement of Chang Hwuy. Those who object to the Shoo King of Gen-kwō say that the passages of Hwuy's Announcement referred to are a remnant of this Book; see the 尚書後案 of 王鳴盛, in loc. 11. Joo Kew and Joo Fang, we may suppose, were two ministers, with whom E Yin discussed the affairs of Hea. 13. 欲遷其社—

# THE SHOO KING.

## PART I. THE BOOK OF T'ANG.

### THE CANON OF YAOU.

于被恭思勳帝曰  
上四克安安欽堯若  
下表讓安明文放稽  
○格光允文古典  
尚書  
唐書

- 1 I. Examining into antiquity, *we find that* the emperor Yaou was called Fang-heun. He was reverential, intelligent, accomplished, and thoughtful,—naturally and without effort. He was sincerely courteous, and capable of *all* complaisance. The display of *these qualities* reached to the four extremities of the empire, and extended from

TITLE OF THE WHOLE WORK. 尚書—Anciently, the Work was simply called the Shoo. So Confucius, in the *Amalecia*, and Mencius refer to it. See *Ana.* II. xxi. &c.; *Men.* I. Pt. II. iii. 7. &c. The addition of 尚, 上, 'High,' is by Ch'ing K'ang-shing attributed to Conf. He says, 'Conf., honouring it, gave it the denomination of 尚書. Honouring and emphasizing it as if it were a Book of Heaven, he therefore called it "The Highest Book,"' (尊而重之若天書然故曰尚書). Gan-kwo in his preface ascribes the name to Fuh-shang, who called it, he says, the 尚書 'as being the book of the highest antiquity' (以其上古之書). The use of the name by Mih Tsh in his 明

鬼篇, however, shows its existence before Fuh's time. With whom and how it originated, we cannot positively say. 書 given by the 說文 as being formed from 聿 and 者 (一著) = what is described or related with a pencil, 'a writing.'

TITLE OF THE PART. 唐書.—In so denominating this portion of the work, I follow the authority of Hsu Shin (許慎 of the 2d cent.), who in his dict. (the 說文) quotes part of par. 8 as from the 唐書. Keang Shing and Maon K'e-ling, likewise, both say that this was the arrangement of Fuh-shang himself; see the 集注音疏 of the former in loc., and the 古文尚書冤詞 卷一,



堯若帝<sup>十</sup>認帝子放若帝<sup>八</sup>績  
 曰予曰可曰朱齊時曰咸  
 都采疇乎吁啟曰登疇熙  
 共驩咨○嚚明胤庸咨○

- 9 III. The emperor said, "Who will search out for me a man according to the times, whom I may raise and employ?" Fang-ts'e said, "There is your heir-son Choo, who is highly intelligent." The emperor said, "Alas! he is insincere and quarrelsome:—can he do?"
- 10 The emperor said, "Who will search out for me a man equal to the exigency of my affairs?" Hwan-tow said, "Oh! there is the minister of Works, whose merits have just been displayed in various

It is to be observed that the above division of a day into 940 parts was different from that of the Han dynasty, and indeed only began to obtain in the time of the great Sung dyn. Practically, moreover, a month must be estimated by a whole number of days; and hence the Chinese have so many short months in the year of 29 days, while the rest are of 30 days.

允釐百工庶績咸熙 is very well given by Sze-ma T'wen—信飭百官衆功皆典. 百工=百官, 'the hundred' (i.e. all, the various) 'officers,' each office having its special department of work. It is not said that He and Ho had any further charge of the officers beyond supplying them with a correct calendar.

CH. III. THE ANXIETY OF YAOU TO FIND THE RIGHT MEN FOR THE EXIGENCIES OF THE TIMES, AND ESPECIALLY THE BEST MEN, ON WHOM TO DEVOLVE THE THRONE:—ALL ILLUSTRATING HIS FREEDOM FROM EVERY SELFISH CONSIDERATION. The events described in the preceding par. are referred by the compilers of Chinese history to the 1st and 2d years of Yao's reign; but we really cannot say when they took place. Par. 12 belongs to the 70th year of his reign; par. 11 is referred with some probability to the 61st; the 10th must be of about the same date.

P. 2. Yao inquires—*precisely in open court*—for an officer whom he may employ in high affairs. What the affairs were we cannot know. Ma Yung thinks that by this time the four Hsiao and Hsiao were dead, and that one was wanted to enter on their duties as ministers of the four seasons. A meaning is thus found for 時 as

—四時; but the view is to be rejected at once. Gan-kwō takes 時 as —是, 'these,' and connects the par. with the 8th, making the inquiry to be for a premier to direct all the officers, and all the works of the year, (so also T'wen); but the only connection between the par. is of fragments brought together into the present canon. The matter must be left indefinite.

疇—誰 'who.' 咨 is here not a particle of exclamation, as hitherto, but a verb, —訪問, 'to inquire for.' 若 as in p. 3, 'to accord with.' It is observed that in those times of wise antiquity, forceful control was not the way of sovereigns and ministers, but a cautious accordance with nature and circumstances.

胤—用, 'to use.' Fang-ts'e (Ying-tz makes 放 in the 2d tone) only appears here. He must have been a minister. Sze-ma T'wen

for 胤子 has 嗣子, 胤—'to continue, to succeed;' and I have translated accordingly. Gan-kwō takes 胤 for the State so called, (see Pt. III. iv.), and 子 for the title of its ruler, —'count;' and Ying-tz says it seems to him unnatural for the emperor's son to be recommended and spoken of as here. But that only serves to exalt the character of Yao, who was free from the partialities of common men, that 'do not know the wickedness of their own sons' (Great Learning, Comm. viii. 2). The difficulty would disappear, if we could suppose that Yao is here proposing to resign his throne. 吁 is a particle of exclamation, intimating the speaker's decided dissent.

P. 10. Yao again makes inquiry for a minister who might be equal to the management of his affairs. Such seems to be the meaning of 采, which is given by Gan-kwō as —事. Ma Yung explains it by 官, 'officers,' as if it were a prime minister to be over all the other ministers, who was wanted. Hwan-tow and the Kung-kung appear in the next Book, p. 12, as two of the four great criminals whom Shun dealt with.

共工 is the name of the one's office. In the next Book, p. 21, Shun calls Ching to the same. It is about —Minister of Works. Ch'ing sup-

欽帝于汭，于二釐二刑  
哉。曰：虞嬪嬀女降女于

I will wive him, and then see his behaviour with my two daughters." On this he gave orders, and sent down his two daughters to the north of the Kwei, to be wives in the family of Yu. The emperor said to them, "Be reverent!"

From 帝曰 to the end, I have translated according to Choo He's view of the passage—that down to 刑于二女 we have Yao's words; from 釐降 to 于虞, what he did; and that the 欽哉 at the end were addressed to his daughters. The construction is not easy; but the interpretation of Gan-kwā, and that of Kuang Shing in the pres. dyn., make confusion worse confounded. 女 (3d tone),—to give

a daughter to a man to wife. 刑—法 'example,' 'behaviour.' The names of Yao's two daughters are said to have been 武王 (娥皇) and 寧王 (女英). 'The former,' says Woo Ch'ing, 'became Shun's wife, and the other his concubine.' But this is said, applying the ways of subsequent times to

Yao's age. We cannot acknowledge any inferiority of the one to the other. 嬪 (一婦, 'to be wife to') applies equally to both. The 嬀 is a small stream in Shan-so, rising where the two depp. of Ping-yang (平陽) and P'oo-chow (蒲州) border on each other, and flowing southwards to the Ho. 汭 is defined 'the north of a stream;' or it may be, there was a smaller stream so called, which flowed into the Kwei, not far from its junction with the Ho. A note on the 集說 in Yang-ching's Shao says that there is such a stream so called, but that people may have been led by the text of the Classic to give it that name. Here was the dwelling-place of Shun.



卷之十 雜著

一、論學問之次第

二、論讀書之法

三、論作文之法

四、論詩之法

五、論畫之法

六、論書之法

七、論琴之法

八、論棋之法

九、論射之法

十、論博之法

允精惟危人<sup>十五</sup>元汝在之丕  
 執惟微道心后終汝曆績  
 厥一惟心惟○陟躬數天

rit. I see how great is your virtue, how admirable your vast achievements. The determinate appointment of Heaven rests on your person; you must eventually ascend *the throne of* the great sovereign.  
 15 The mind of man is restless,—prone to err; its affinity for the right way is small. Be discriminating, be undivided, that you may sin-

the sense of 'great,' to consider great' 天

之曆數在汝躬—see Con. Ana.,

XX. i. 1, where this and other parts of the passage are given as having been spoken by Yao to Shun, though it is added that Shun used the same language in giving charge to Yu. 15.

Warning on the propensity of man to err.

Medhurst translates the first two clauses:—

'The carnal mind is treacherous, while the virtuous feeling exists only in a small degree.'

Gaubil says:—'The heart of man is full of shoals (*écueils*); the heart of Tao is simple and thin (*délic*); and adds in a note:—'The heart of man is here opposed to that of Tao. The

discourse is of two hearts,—one disengaged (?) from passions, the other simple and very pure.

Tao expresses the right reason. It is very natural to think that the idea of a God, pure,

simple, and Lord of men, is the source of those words. Neither translation is good, and the

note is altogether fanciful. The first clause

does, indeed, suggest to a Christian reader of the classic what is said in the New Testament of

the 'carnal mind,' but that phrase is not the

correspondency of 人心危, moreover, is

not 'treacherous,' but 'insecure,' 'tottering,'

'threatening to fall.' When the statement in

this clause is taken in connection with that in

the next, we have the idea of 'the carnal mind.'

道心 is, indeed, a diff. expression; and we

mean to want in 道 some entity or being cor-

responding to 人. But that cannot be. The

道心 is still the 人心, the mind of man

in its relation to the path of duty. The two

clauses together tell us very truly that the mind

of man, uncertain, unstable in what is good, is

ever more likely, without a careful self-govern-

ment, to fall into the way of evil.

Ying-14, in paraphrasing Gun-kw6, seems to

take 人 as 一民, as if Shun were cautioning

Yu only about the proclivities of the people.

But the term is of universal application. Choo

He and other philosophers of the Sung dyn.

have written much on this text. One of the

scholars Ch'ing says:—'The heart of man which

is restless denotes the desires of man; the reason

to which it has little affinity is heavenly prin-

ciple' (集說). Choo He says:—'The mouth,

the nose, the ears, the eyes, and four limbs all

belong to one's own body; they are the things

which are of one's self, and are not like the con-

viction of right and duty (道), which belongs to

one with all others. Thus we have at once the

root of selfishness, and there is a proneness to

it moreover; yet this is not in itself bad,—it is

only the root of what is bad. 'Take what is

here called the 人心 and regulate and

control (收之) it, and you have the 道心;

take the 道心 and leave it uncared for (放

之), and you have the 人心. Putting the

question, whether it could be said of the mind

of the ages, that it was also restless and prone

to err, he replies that the affinity for the right

in them completely predominated so as to rule

the other. (See the 集說) 惟精

惟一,—these denote the exercise of mind and

force of will by which the 人心 can be kept

from disturbing the 道心, and there will

result in practice the strict adherence to the

Mean,—the course which neither exceeds nor

comes short of what is right.

允執厥中 is found in the Con. Ana.,

XX. i. 1. The rest of the par., it is said, was

made up in the time of the Tsin dyn. by Mei

Tai from Seun K'ing's 解蔽篇. We

certainly find there, and quoted as from 道經,

the passages 人心之危, 道心之

微. There is also much in the context about

being 精於道, and 一於道. Seun

K'ing has written nothing which he was not

likely to do, if he had the Shoo with this passage

in his mind. And, on the other hand, it must

be allowed that a forger might have compiled

the first three clauses of the par. from him. His

quoting from the 道經 can hardly be said

to be decisive in the question, for as we refer

to the Bible often as 'The word of Truth,'

'The book of Truth,' the phrase in question



兢兢業業一日二萬幾無曠庶官天工人其代之○天敘有典五勅我五典五禮自我五禮有庸哉同寅協恭和衷哉

indolence or dissoluteness. Let him be wary and fearful, remembering that in one day or two days there may occur ten thousand springs of things. Let him not have the various officers cumberers of their places. The work is Heaven's;—it is men's to act for it."

- 6 III. "From Heaven are the *social* arrangements with their several duties; to us it is given to enforce those five duties, and then we have the five courses of generous conduct! From Heaven are the *social* distinctions with their several ceremonies; from us proceed the observances of those five ceremonies, and then do they appear in regular practice! When *sovereign and ministers* show a common

example of careful attention to his duties, and we get all his officers and nobles to give the same.

無教逸欲有邦—do not teach idleness and desires to the holders of States.

無一母. Gan-kwō explains:—不爲逸豫貪欲之教是有國者之常.

'Do not practise the lessons of idle pleasure and inordinate desires, which is the constant way of the holders of States.' He does not suppose the counsel given to the emperor for his personal benefit, but to concern generally princes and officers; but his interpretation altogether is inadmissible. 教 is the teaching of example;

一非必教令, 謂上行而下效也 (Ts'ao Ch'ia). 幾, 'that which is small

and minute,'—機, 'the spring' or motive force, which, indeed, is Keang Shing's text.

Gan-kwō explains 曠 by 空, 'empty.' The phrase in the transl. gives its force.

天工人其代之.—Keang Shing says that 人 is the sovereign. So it is, but embracing the officers employed by him;—'the king as supreme, and governors that are sent by him.'

CH. III. ON GIVING REPORT TO THE PEOPLE:—THE ACCOMPLISHMENT BY MEANS OF GOVERNMENT OF HEAVEN'S PURPOSES FOR THEM. 6.

天敘有典.—Keang Shing reads 五典 after Ma Yung; but as we have below—天秩

有禮, &c., 有典 is here probably the correct text. And, acc. to the same analogy,

有典 must—a concrete noun, under the govt. of 敘 like 有罪 有德, under the govt.

of 討 and 命. We might render therefore:—

Heaven arranges in their orders those who have the cardinal duties.' The orders are of course the constituent relations of society,—sovereign and minister, father and son, brothers, husband and wife, and friends.

勅我五典,—charges on us the five duties.' 正 is accepted by all the commentators as the explanation of 勅 here. A much better meaning comes from the ordinary signif. of the char.

By 我 is intended the sovereign and his ministers and officers,—the sovereign specially, as the head of govt. 五典,—as in Bk. I.

p. 2, et al. 五惇哉,—perhaps we should give this clause as nearly literally as our language will permit, if we said;—and to the five there is a large obedience!'

天秩有禮.—'Heaven arranges in their ranks those who have the ceremonies.'

The 典 belong to the essential constituents of society; the 禮 have their foundation also in the mind, which seeks for an outward recognition of the different ranks that actually obtain in society.

自我五禮,—from us,—that is, the sovereign and his ministers—are the definition and ordering of the five ceremonies.' But what are 'the five ceremonies?'

Keang Shing supposes the

不敬應帝不  
時敷同日奏  
罔功。○無若  
丹朱傲惟慢  
遊是好傲虐  
是作罔晝夜  
額額罔水行  
舟朋淫于家  
用殄厥世子  
創若時娶于

not to cultivate a humble virtue? Who will dare not to respond to you with reverence? If you, O emperor, do not act thus, all your ministers together will daily proceed to a merittless character.

- 8 "Do not be like the haughty Choo of Tan, who found his pleasure only in indolence and dissipation, and pursued a proud oppression. Day and night, without ceasing, he was thus. He would make boats go where there was no water. He introduced licentious associates into his family. The consequence was that he brought the honours of his House to an end. I took warning from his course. When I

傳二十七年一賦納以言明  
試以功車服以庸帝不  
時敷同日奏罔功一時是  
不時不若是'not thus'敷同

is taken as—普同, 'all together,' i.e., even the ministers of good character whom you at present employ, to say nothing of the calumniating parties whom you talk about our reforming. We read in the 'Historical Records'—帝即不時布同善惡則無功. The compiler of these would seem to have understood 敷同 in the sense of—'if you employ together the good and the bad.' 8. Ya proceeds to warn Shen by the example of himself. Shen in reply compliments both Ya and K'ao-yoon.

In the 'Historical Records' this part appears introduced by a 帝曰, while after the equivalent there for 子創若是, we have the addition of 禹曰. K'ang Shing follows T'ao, and edits his text accordingly. He adduces other evidences of the reading, as in the 楚元王傳, in the Books of the Former Han, where we find (in the sect. of 向子政) 一帝舜戒伯禹母若丹朱敖. There must have been the readings of 帝曰

and 禹曰 in some copies of the Shoo during the Han dyn. But, if we are to judge in the matter by the canon that the more difficult reading is to be preferred, we shall adhere to the *textus receptus*. It is startling to find Yu

lecturing Shm, and warning him not to be like Choo of Tan—Dared a minister to speak so to the sage emperor? This diff. is somewhat got over by introducing the characters 帝曰, which again necessitate the 禹曰 below. 丹朱—it is stated, in the 漢書律曆志, that 'Yao placed his son Choo in 丹淵, from which it is concluded that Tan was the name of a State to which Yao appointed his son.

額額 is defined 不休息貌 'the appearance of unceasingness.' Ch'ing connects the phrase with the clause below, and says:—'Choo having seen people moving about in boats during the inundation, after the waters were reduced, would still live in a boat, and made men unceasingly push it along.' Wang Ming-shing argues for a metaphorical explanation of 罔水行舟, making it = Mencius 從流忘反 (I. Pt. II. iv. 7),—absurdly, it appears to me.

朋淫家內—this is illustrated from the orgies of K'ei, the last emp. of the Hsia dyn., who dug a pool, and made a night palace, where men and women lived promiscuously together, and where he once remained himself for a whole month.

用殄厥世—殄—絕, 'to extinguish.' T'ao Ch'ia says 世者世堯之天下也. 世 means making hereditary—handing down to future generations—the empire of Yao.

子創若時 (= 是) 一創 (1st tone), 'a wound inflicted by a knife,' here—as in the transl. Gan-k'wo defines it by 懲 'to repress,'



咸建五長 外薄四海 十有二師 于五服至 成五土功 弗子惟荒 呱而泣予 癸甲啟呱 塗山辛壬

married in T'oo-shan, I remained with my wife only the days *sin*, *jün*, *kwei*, and *kei*. When my son K'e was wailing and weeping, I did not regard him, but kept planning with all my might my labour on the land. Thus I assisted in completing the five tenures, extending over 5,000 *le*; in appointing in the provinces twelve Tutors; and in establishing, in the regions beyond, extending to the four seas, five Presidents. These all pursue the right path and are merito-

'to reprove' and Ying-tä says:—**創** and **懲** have both the meaning of seeing wickedness, and stopping one's self from a similar course. T'ien gives, for this clause, **子不能順** 是, which is quite inane. The clause is natural in the mouth of Yu, unnatural from Shun. I do not see how with this clause we can adopt the reading **帝曰** at the begin. of the par.

**娶于塗山**—**塗山** was the name of a principality, the daughter of the ruler of which was married by Yu. A hill called **塗**, gave its name to the territory, and is identified with one in the pres. prov. of Gun-hway, 8 *le* to the south-east of the dia. city of Hwai-yuen (懷遠), dep. of Fung-yang (鳳陽). Ch'ing says that Yu was married on the day **辛**, and got the emperor's command to undertake the remedy of the inundation on the day **甲**, so that he spent only three nights in his house. But I suppose he was already engaged in his great work, and could only spare four days from it for the business of his marriage.

**啟呱**—**啟** was Yu's son who afterwards succeeded to the throne. The two other characters express the sound of an infant's crying.

**弗子**, 'did not see him,' i.e., did not regard him. Mencius tells us (III. Pt. I, iv. 7) that Yu, when engaged upon the waters, was eight years away from his family, and though he thrice passed the door of his house, did not enter it.

**荒**—大, 'great,' 'greatly.' **土功** 'the service of the land,' i.e., all the work which he had to perform in regulating the waters.

**弼成五服**—see on the next Book, Part II, par. 18—21. Yu speaks of himself here, it is said, as only 'assisting,' (**弼**), because he would attribute the great work to the emp.

Woo Ch'ing, however, considering **弼** to mean, primarily, the effort employed in forming the figure of a bow, explains the text of the figure and formation of the diff. tenures;—a very likely explanation. **州十有二師**—

Medhurst has translated this clause:—'In every district I appointed twelve officers,' and then he has a note to the effect that over every province there was established only one nobleman, as officer. Gauthier translates the text in the same way as Medhurst:—'Chaque Tchou ou donze ch'ou.' It is a vexed question whether in each province there was only one **師**, or whether there were eleven. The old interpreters, not without differences among themselves, yet all maintain the larger number. It will be sufficient here to give an abridgment of the views of Ch'ing.—

Inside the tenure of Restriction (**要服**) were the nine provinces (**九州**), containing altogether a space of 48,000,000 square *le*. Deducting from these the imperial domain, there remain 48,000,000; or 5,000,000 square *le* to each province. Now, when Yu assembled the princes of the empire at Hwai-k'e (會稽), they amounted to 10,000. Such was the number of the States of the nine provinces. Over every province was a Pastor (**牧**), and the worthiest of the princes were selected to be tutors or counsellors (**師**) to him. For every hundred

States there was one **師**, and 12 **師** would suppose 1200 States. Each province contained of States 100 *le* square, 200; 70 *le* square, 400; 50 *le* square, 800;—altogether 1400. Deduct 200 of these, as an allowance for waste lands, and there remain 1,200 States. Multiply these by 8, we have 9,600, and allowing 400 for States within the imperial domain, we have the 10,000 States forming the empire. The value of these statements and figures will have to be considered in connection with the next Book. In the meantime, according to these views there were in all

慎乃憲欽哉。履  
省乃成欽哉。乃  
賡載歌曰。元首  
明哉。股肱良哉。  
庶事康哉。又歌  
曰。元首叢脞哉。  
股肱惰哉。萬事  
墮哉。帝拜曰。俞。  
往欽哉。○

and to originate things, with a careful attention to your laws. Be reverent! Oh! often examine what you have accomplished. Be reverent!" With this he continued the song, saying,

"When the head is intelligent,  
The members are good;  
And all business will be happily performed!"

He again continued the song, saying,

"When the head is vexatious,  
The members are idle;  
And all affairs will go to ruin!"

The emperor said, "Yes; go ye, and be reverently attentive to your duties!"

Heaven, 惟時,—comp. 食哉惟時. Bk. I. p. 16. 股肱,—see p. 4.

元首,—the sovereign is evidently intended by this phrase. In Ying-ta's paraphrase (foll. by K'ang-ho's dict., char. 元), 元 is taken as 一首; but it is rather an adj., with some eulogistic meaning,—'the great,' 'the superior.'

百工熙哉,—comp. in Can. of Yaou, p. 8. 允釐百工庶績咸熙.

屬言曰. 念哉—Gan-kwō defines 屬 by 大言而疾, 'with great words and rapid.' 念哉 is evidently addressed to the emp.

Ch'ing says that they are a summons to all the ministers to give heed to the warning just uttered by the emperor; and Ming-shing and Keang Shing, in their prejudice, endorse the view.

憲—法, 'the laws.' A careful attention to these on the part of the emp.

would be a good example to the officers to attend to their duties. 'Examine what you have accomplished;—i.e., that you may carry on your undertakings and govt. with the same success.

賡載歌曰,—賡—續 'to continue.' 載 is taken by Ch'ing as—始, making the meaning,—'he continued and sung his first song,' with ref. to 又歌 below. Gan-

kwō takes it as—成, 'to complete,' making the meaning,—'he continued and completed the meaning of the emperor.'

叢脞哉—Ch'ing explains 叢脞 by 總聚小小之事, 'a general collection of small affairs.'

To the same effect, substantially, are the views of Gan-kwō and Ma Yung. 'Vexatious,' as in the transl., seems to give the idea, though it is not easy to collect it from the several characters.

墮 (read to)—壞, 'to fall in ruins.' 往欽哉—see Can. of Yaou, p. 11. et al.



**NAME OF THE BOOK.**—禹貢, 'The Tribute of Yu.' Tribute, however, is not here to be understood in the sense of a contribution paid by one nation to another in acknowledgment of subjection and testimony of fealty, but as the contribution paid by subjects to their proper rulers. The barbarous tribes round about the 'Middle Kingdom' bring here, indeed, their 貢, and the attempt by the rulers of the present Manchow dynasty to give the same name to the presents sent to them from Great Britain and other countries was an assumption which needed to be repressed and rebuked; but such offerings occupy a very inferior place, as compared with the 賦 or contribution of revenue, levied from each province. We might rather expect that the Book should be called 禹賦. 貢, however, has the general signification of 'an offering made by inferiors' (下之所供謂之貢), and may embrace the 賦 while that term is more restricted and could not be employed to comprehend the 貢 properly so called. This is the account given by Ying-ta of the name of the Book, and I think correctly. Ts'ao Ch'in endorses a view somewhat different:—'In the Book we have both 貢 and 賦, and yet it is called only by the former. Mencius observes that the sovereign of the Hsia dynasty enacted the 50 new allotment, and the payment of a proportion of the produce (夏后氏五十而貢, BK. III. Pt. I. III. 5). This proportion was determined by taking the average of several years, so that, accord. to this acct., 貢 was the general name for the revenue levied under the Hsia dynasty from the land.'

**CONTENTS.** The name, 'The Tribute of Yu,' gives a very insignificant account of the contents. The determination of the revenue, and of the various articles of tribute was, indeed, very important, but the Book describes generally the labours of Yu in remedying the disasters occasioned by the overflowing waters. Having accomplished that, he went on to define more accurately the boundaries of the different provinces, and to divide the empire into five tenures. It may be regarded as a doomsday book of China in the 23d century before Christ; but when we consider that it is contained in the compass of a few pages, we cannot expect very much information from it. Choo Ho says in several places, that much of what is said about the geography of the country—the mountains and rivers—cannot be understood, in consequence of the changes of names, and the actual changes in nature which have taken place. This is doubtless the case; but when we shall have an accurate and scientific survey of China, and it is known to us in the length and breadth of its provinces as any of the countries of Europe is, this ancient document will be invested with a new interest, and have a light thrown upon it, for want of which we can at present in many places only grope our way. The division of the Book into two parts, which is found in

Yung Ching's Shoo, and I have here followed, is convenient, but of modern device. It is still unobserved in many editions, of which I need only mention the 'Daily Explanation.' The first part is conveniently arranged in ten chapters, the first containing only one paragraph; and each of the others containing the account of one province in a good many paragraphs. On the title of 'The Counsels of the Great Yu' it was observed that the Books of the Shoo have obtained a sixfold classification accord. to their subject-matter. This Book has been referred with reason to the class of the Canons.

Chang Kew-cing (張九成, Sung dyn.) has the following observations on the authorship of it:—'Are we to suppose that it was composed by the historiographers? But they could not have known all the minutiae which we find in it about the regulation of the waters. I venture to give my opinion in this way:—There are the first and last paragraphs, about Yu's dividing the land, &c., and returning his mace;—these are from the historiographers. But all between, from 冀州 down to 訖于四海 is the narrative by Yu himself of his various labours,—his narrative as presented to the emperor, and kept in the bureau of history, whence it was edited by the proper officers with some modifications of the style.'

**CH. I. A SUMMARY OF YU'S SCHEME OF OPERATIONS UPON THE INUNDATED EMPIRE.** It is the general opinion that this part lays down the plan on which Yu proceeded to his task; and though there is nothing in the language to determine absolutely in favour of this interpretation, I think it is the most likely. First, he divided the land into nine provinces, and arranged in what order they should be taken in hand. Next, he travelled along the hills, and possessed himself with a general idea of what was to be done to afford a vent for the waters, and conduct them by their natural channels. Lastly, the waters being carried off, he defined the boundaries of the provinces more accurately than had been done before, by reference to the principal mountains and streams.

**禹敷土, 敷土, comp. 'Counsels of Yu,' p. 1.** Ching defines 敷 by 布, 'to spread out,' 'to arrange,' adding 布治九州之水土, 'he arranged and reduced to order the water and land of the nine provinces.' Ma Yung says that 敷一分, and in (Jan-kwa) we find all these terms together:—洪水汎溢禹分布治九州之土, 'amid the overflowing of the inundating waters, Yu divided, arranged, and reduced to order the land of the nine provinces.' It may be questioned whether the division of China into nine provinces originated with Yu. The first territorial arrangement of the country is referred to Hwang-te, who, it is said, 'mapped out the country, and divided it into provinces, making in all 10,000 States of 100 邑 each (畫野分州, 得百里之國萬區; see the 歷代疆域表, under Hwang-te).

貝, 筐, 服, 夷, 木, 毛, 革, 蕩, 琨, 品.  
厥, 織, 厥, 卉, 島, 惟, 羽, 齒, 篠, 瑤

keun stones; bamboos small and large; elephants' teeth, hides, feathers, hair, and timber. The wild people of the islands brought garments of grass. The baskets were filled with woven ornamented

the ancients there were three degrees of metal:—the yellow metal, the highest in value; the white metal, the next; and the red metal, the lowest. I don't know how or where K'ang-shing got his idea that the text meant 'the three colours' (=qualities) 'of copper' (銅三

色). Hoo Wei has collected a mass of evidence to show that gold was found in Jon-chow dep.; that silver also was found there, and in the dep. of Lin-keang (臨江) and that there were copper mines in various parts of Keang-soo. [It is to the western provinces of Yun-nan and Sze-ch'uen that we are now commonly referred for the precious metals.] 瑤琨

are said by Gan-kwō to be 'beautiful gems' (美玉). Wang Suh, however, describes them as 'fine stones inferior to gems.' He is supported by the 說文 expressly in his account of the second, and probably also in that of the first;—see the 後案. The 篠 were used for arrow-shafts. One statement says they were solid, which I do not know that any bamboo can be. The 蕩 were used,—the larger of them for small packing and other cases, the smaller for flutes and similar instruments. 齒革羽

毛惟木—惟 is here a connective particle, —暨, 'and.' See note on par. 26, upon 惟

錯. Lin Che-k'e says that 'by teeth, hides, feathers and hair we are to understand whatever about animals was available for articles of use or for ornament.' More specially, Gan-kwō understood by 'teeth' the teeth of elephants, and by 'hides' (革 supposes the hair to be taken off) the hides of the rhinoceros. This view is generally acquiesced in. Are we to suppose then that the rhinoceros and elephant were found in Yang-chow in Yu's time? They may very well have been so. Hoo Wei observes that from the mention or supposed mention of these animals some argue for the extension of the limits of the province beyond the southern mountain-range to Kwang-tung, Kwang-so, and An-nam, and replies that the princes might be required to send articles of value and use purchased from their neighbours, as well as what they could procure in their own territories. 島夷卉服.—K'ang

Shing here reads 島夷, as in p. 10. The Historical Records read as in the text. The

occurrence of the name again confirms the ordinary reading. One tribe of wild people, north or south, might have been called the 'Bird barbarians'; but when the name is applied equally to the two extremities of the empire along the sea-board, we must take the phrase as having nothing special in its signification. Hoo Wei would carry us chiefly to Japan for the people here intended; but that is too remote. Possibly the name may include the inhabitants of Formosa, and the Chuans archipelago, as well as of the islands generally along the east coast.

卉草之總名 卉 is a general name for grasses. T'ao would extend it to 'cotton,' the production of a plant, so that 卉服 should include dresses of cotton; but the cultivation of cotton was first introduced into China during the Sung dynasty. The 卉服 were garments, I apprehend, made of grass or straw, manipulated indeed, but not having undergone any operations of machinery, however rude. 織貝.—Gan-kwō takes these for two things,—'fine woven fabrics,' and 'fine shells.' These shells, it has been supposed, were to serve as pieces of money, for purposes of exchange. But such a use of shells cannot be proved to have existed in the time of Yu.

織貝 would rather seem to be the name of some kind of silken manufacture. So this phrase is generally taken. Ch'ing, on the authority of a passage in the Shu King, defines 貝 by 錦名, 'the name of variegated silks.' Woo Ch'ing says:—When the silk was dyed of various colours, and then woven into patterns, the fabric was called 織貝; where the patterns were made with silk not so dyed of various colours, the fabric was called 織文. The 橘 is a small orange, the *citrus mandarina*. It grows further north than the common orange. The 柚 or pumelo seems to grow best in Fuh-k'ien.

錫命.—Gan-kwō says:—錫命乃貢. 言不常也, 'when the order was given, they were sent; this was not a regular tribute.' Wang Suh gives the same explanation, and adds that these fruits were only required from Yang-chow as a supplement to those of King-chow. K'ang-shing took a diff. view, but what he understood exactly by 錫 can hardly be known. He says:—When there was 錫 it



潛既州黑河于磬織絺厥  
 既藝。○水○洛錯。纈紵貢  
 道。○岷<sup>六十三</sup>惟華<sup>六十三</sup>達○錫厥漆  
 ○沱<sup>六十四</sup>嶓梁陽于浮貢篚棗

60 Its articles of tribute were varnish, hemp, a finer hempen cloth, and coarser hempen cloth. The baskets were filled with fine silken fabrics, and fine floss-silk. Stones for polishing sounding-stones were rendered, when required.

61 They floated along the Lō, and reached the Ho.

62 IX. The south of mount Hwa and the Black-water were the boundaries of LEANG-CHOW.

64 The hills Min and Po were brought under cultivation. The T'ō

count of it. The 說文 defines the char. by

黑剛土, 'black, hard, earth.' I have done the best I could with the two terms.

59. If we look only at the revenue of the province, we should expect its fields to rank much higher than they do; the reason of the disproportion, according to Foo Tung-shuh (傅同叔), was that the black hard tracts in the lower parts of it were unfit for the cultivation of grain. The student will observe how the place of the 錯 is different from what it occupies in part. 8 and 43.

60. 漆梟絺紵—漆 see par. 19; 梟 and 絺 see par. 26; 紵 is a coarse kind of hemp, a perennial plant, acc. to Luk Ke (陸璣); 紵亦麻也, 宿根在地至春自生. A kind of cloth was made from it which was called by the same name. Ts'ue says he cannot tell whether we should understand here the raw material, or the manufactured article. We must suppose, I think, that, as the character follows 絺, we are to understand the cloth.

厥篚織纈—織 see par. 35; 纈—綿絮之細者, as in the translation. 錫貢—see par. 44.

There the phrase follows the articles so contributed, they being sufficiently marked off from the other articles by the 厥包 which precedes. Here it precedes the articles, because, if it followed them, its force might be extended to the others previously mentioned. The 錯 were stones used for polishing other stones and gems, differing from the grinding-stones and whetstones of King-chow, the use of which was to polish articles of metal.

P. 61. Route of conveyance to the capital. From the eastern parts of Yu-chow they could at once

reach the Ho. From the western, they reached it by means of the Lō.

CH. IX. THE ACCOUNT OF LEANG-CHOW.

P. 62. Boundaries. There is no dispute about the former of the boundaries mentioned.

Mount Hwa is 'the western mountain' (西

岳) of the Canon of Shun, par. 8, standing 8

le on the south of the dia. city of Hwa-yin

(華陰; lat. 34°25', N., lon. 107°31', W., Biot),

in the dep. of Tung-chow (同州), acc. to

the latest arrangement of Shen-se province.

In the small adjacent dep. of Shung (商) is the

dep. of Shan-yang (山陽), which is said to be

identical with the Hwa-yang of the text. Mount

Hwa served as boundary mark to three of Yu's

provinces—Leang, Yu, and Yung. On the

other boundary,—the Black-water,—there is not

the same unanimity of opinion. Han-kwō said:

—On the east this province reached to the

south of mount Hwa, and on the west to the

Blackwater. If, indeed, the Blackwater was

the boundary of Leang-chow on the west, we

are led to identify it with the river of the same

name, also the western boundary of Yung-chow,

and described in Part II, p. 6, as 'flowing into

the southern sea.' This view leads to great

difficulties, quite as great as those attending

the extension of Yang-chow round the sea-coast

to Cochin-China. The first distinctly to con-

travert it appears to have been Sze Sze-lung

(薛士龍, Sung dyn.), who took the bound-

aries mentioned in the text as the northern

and southern, and not those on the east and west:

—The northern boundary of Leang-chow was

the south of mount Hwa, and on the south it

stretched along the Blackwater, the present

Lo-water (南距黑水, 黑水今瀘

水也). The name of the Lo had taken

the place of the Blackwater in the Han dynasty,

and subsequently to the Tung, the stream has

于衡岷方冢于耳鼠○于  
 數山山至于至于陪外至于西碣  
 淺過山之陽于大荆尾方于傾石  
 原○江至于別山○導柏太華入  
 至于○內嶓至熊鳥海。

- 2 South from the Ho, he surveyed Se-k'ing, Choo-yu, and Neaou-shoo, going on to T'ae-hwa; then Heung-urh, Wae-fang. T'ung-pih, from which he proceeded to Pei-wei.
- 3 He surveyed and described Po-ch'ung, going on to the other mount King; and Nuy-fang, from which he went to Ta-p'ü.
- 4 He did the same with the south of mount Min, and then went on to mount Häng. From this he crossed the lake of Kew-kéang, and went on to the plain of Foo-tséen.

Tung-he (趙冬職), a writer of the Tang dynasty, describes the hill of Te-ch'oo as consisting of six peaks, all rising up in the midst of the stream. On the most northern of them were two pillars, over against each other, standing up over the bank, and forming the passage of the 'Three Gates.' We cannot say what labours Yu performed at this point, nor what was the appearance presented in his time by the hill. Notwithstanding what he did, the Ho has here occasioned incalculable evil to the people, and incalculable trouble to the government. Hoo Wei has made a series of attempts to overcome the natural difficulties of the passage, from the Han to the Song dynasty, the result of which appears to have been to aggravate the evil rather than remove it.

The hill of Feih-shing is found in the dep. of Tai-chow (澤州) in the south-west of the district of Yang-shing (陽城, lat. 35° 28' N., lon. 115° 2' W.). Wang-uh is in the dep. of Hwa-k'ing, in Ho-shan, 80 li to the west of the city of Tse-yuen (濟源; lat. 35° 7' N., lon. 114° 40' W.). It extends to the borders of Yang-shing district, just mentioned, and presents an appearance as if it consisted of three storeys, like a house.

太行極山, 至于碣石, 入于海—Tae-hang is in the south of Fung-t'ao dia. (鳳臺) in Tai-chow (lat. 35° 30' N., 115° 39' W.). South of it lies the district of Ho-nuy (河內), dep. of Hwa-k'ing, while, stretching along to the north-east, it touches in its range in the district of Ling-ch'uan (陵川), on the districts of

Hoo-kwan (壺關), Loo-shing (路城), and Le-shing (黎城), dep. of Loo-nan (洛安), on the dia. of Woo-hsing (武鄉) in Pe Chow (泌州), on the dia. of Ho-shun (和順) in Luan Chow (遼州), and on that of Lo-p'ing (樂平) in Ping-ting dep. It is called by a hundred different names in different parts of its range, but it is really the same mountain of Tae-hang.

恆山.—see on Can. of Shun, par. 8. It is the northern mountain, the limit of Shun's excursions to the north, and according to the determination of the pre-dyn., is in about lat. 39° 41' N., lon. 114° 40' W. I don't know where Dr. Medhurst got the latitude which I have assigned to it from him on page 25. According to the geography of the Han dyn., we should look for mount Häng in Kueh-yang dia. (曲陽, lat. 38° 39' N., lon. 114° 40' W.), dep. of Chin-ting, in Pin-chih-lo. This opinion prevailed through many dynasties. In the Song dynasty a more northern position began to be claimed for the northern hill, and the Ming dyn. decreed that the proper Häng was in Shan-se. It did not, however, remove the sacrifices from Kueh-yang. This was done in the 17th year of Shun-che of the present dynasty. We must conclude that the decision of the Ming and the present dynasties is incorrect. The Häng hill of Shan-se would take us away from the Ho, along which this range of hills is evidently laid down from K'ien to K'ee-shih.

碣石.—see on Part I, p. 11. I must believe that K'ee-shih was something like Te-ch'oo, only not far from the mouth of the river.



入于海。東爲北江。澤爲彭蠡。于江東匯。大別南入。三潞至于。浪之水。過滄浪。又東爲滄浪之水。東流爲漢。嶓冢導漾。

- 8 From Po-ch'ung he surveyed the Yang, which, flowing eastwards, became the Han. Farther east, it became the water of Ts'ang-lang; and after passing the three great dykes, went on to Ta-p'ee, southwards from which it entered the Keang. Eastward still, and whirling on, it formed the marsh of P'ang-le; and from that its eastern flow was the northern K'ang, as which it entered the sea.

in the dis. of Shou-chang (壽張), dep. of Yen-chow, it there divided into two branches, one flowing north and east, and entering the sea in the dis. of Le-tai, the other going east and south till it joined the Hwae, and went on in its channel to the sea. After this, the northern branch gradually became less and less. During the Yuen and Ming dynasties, the Ho finally broke off in the district of Yung-tai (榮澤), dep. of K'ao-fung, and proceeded east with a very gradual inclination to the south till it joined the Hwae. I have not met with an account of the changes which it has undergone since. Until within a few years it discharged itself into the sea by the old channel of the Hwae.]

P. 3. The course of the Han.

嶓冢導漾 (In See-ma T'ien and others, 漾). 東流爲漢—see on Part I, p. 63. It is there stated that there were two mountains called Po-ch'ung, one in Kan-suh, in the small dep. of Tein (秦州), 40 li to the south-east of the dep. city, in which what is called the Western Han (西漢水) takes its rise. Flowing through Tein Chow and Kene Chow (階州) into See-ch'uan, it is lost in the Keang, which proceeding south through the departments of Pao-ning (保寧), and Shun-king (川慶), enters the Keang, near the dep. city of Chung-king (重慶) lat. 29° 42' N., lon. 94° 48' W.). The Geography of the Han supposed that this western Han was the Yang of the text, and that we were to look for the Po-ch'ung mountain in the pres. Kan-suh. But there is no connection between the two Hans;—there is none now, nor is it likely that there ever was. The mistake made in the Han dynasty has led to much perplexity and debate on the sentence under notice. The Po-ch'ung of Yu was, no doubt, the mountain in the north of Ning-king Chow (寧羌州), dep. of Han-chung.

Here the Han rises, and for some time after issuing from its springs it was called the Yang. Flowing east along the south of the district of M'een (沔縣), it passes the dep. city to the dis. of Nan-ch'ing (南鄭), whereabouts the name of Yang ceased, and was superseded by that of Han. From the dep. of Han-chung, the Han passes into that of Hing-ngan, out of which it proceeds from Shen-se into Hoo-pih in the dep. of Tun-yang (鄧陽). Entering from this that of Seang-yang in the sub. dep. of Kuan (均州), it took the name of the Water of Ts'ang-lang:—又東爲滄浪之水. There was an island here according to Le Taou-yuen in the middle of the stream, called Ts'ang-lang (漢水中有洲曰滄浪洲) which gave occasion to the name which was retained to the junction of its waters with the Keang. It is perhaps a more likely account of the name, that it was given to the stream here from the bluish tinge of its waters. 過三

潞至于大別南入于江.—this describes the course of the stream from Kuan Chow till it mingles its waters with the Keang. On Ta-p'ee, see on par. 2. The only difficulty is with 三潞, which Ts'ao says was the name of a stream, or streams. Such also was the view of the older commentators,—Gan-kwō, Ching Hsuen, Ma Yung, and Wang Sui. The 說文, however, defines 潞 as 'a large dyke on a river's bank where people could dwell' (埤增水邊土人所止). This meaning is the better established of the two. Hse Wei fixes on three points, all in the pres. district of Seang-yang, where he supposes three dykes to have been raised to sustain the impetus of the waters entering the Han, and considers them to be the positions indicated in the text.

東匯澤爲彭蠡. 東爲北江. 入于海.—these clauses present

流。百蠻。百服。里五  
○里二里三荒百

- 22 Five hundred *le*, the most remote, constituted THE WILD DOMAIN. Three hundred *le* were occupied by the tribes of the Man; two hundred, by criminals undergoing the greater banishment.

It was thus 7 times the size of the imperial domain, and contained 7,000,000 square *le*.

三百里夷, 二里百蔡—there is nearly a comment on the meaning of 蔡. It is taken as —放, in Can. of Shun, p. 12, meaning 'to banish and confine.' In the 左傳, 定四年 we read—王於是乎殺管叔而蔡蔡叔. There the opposition of 蔡 and 殺 fixes the meaning of the term. A note, however, says that the first 蔡 is to be read 戔, and we find the explanation of this in the character's being given in the 說文 as 戔 with the meaning of 'to scatter.' This must have been afterwards mistaken for 蔡 [Here perhaps we have also the explanation of how the 竄三苗, of the Can. of Shun, *loc. cit.*, appears in Mencius, Bk. V, Pt.

I, III, 2, as 殺三苗.] By 蔡, then in the text we must understand banished criminals; and in contrast with the 流 of the next par., that their banishment was of a lighter character, and not to the greatest distance.

The first three hundred *le* were occupied by wild tribes which had not yet been merged in the conquering race, nor driven by it from their original seats. The attempts to explain 夷 as an adjective—易 or—平, may be seen in 禹貢錐指. Hoe Wei very pertinently compares with the text the language of Mencius, Bk. IV, Pt. II, 1.

P. 22. 五百里荒服.—we have come to the last of the domains. It was called the 荒服 with reference, we may suppose, to the rude character of the inhabitants, and the wildness of the country. It extended 500 *le* in every direction beyond the fourth domain—thus:—





sustained in time of peace. In the Chow dynasty, a 軍 or army consisted of 12,500 men.

Pp. 2, 3. *The grounds of the expedition against Hoo.* The king commences his speech with a sigh,—an Ah! (嗟)—because of the gravity of the matter;—so, Ts'an. 六事之人—Ch'ing observes that the change of style from 六卿 to 六事 indicates that the king was addressing not the generals only, but the inferior officers and common soldiers as well. Of course he could not be heard by such a multitude, but his speech would be circulated throughout the host. Gan-kwō says:—各有軍事故曰六事. I have translated accordingly.

2. 有扈氏—the holder of, i.e., the prince invested with, Hoo. This Hoo was the present territory of the district of Hoo in Shen-se. The name in the text was changed in the Tsin dynasty to the present 鄆. The prince of Hoo, according to Sze-ma Tseu and the older interpreters, was of the surname Sze, the same as the emperor. I have read of him somewhere as K'e's 庶兄, his elder brother by a secondary wife. Ts'an does not seem willing to admit so much. The surname is not a point of importance. 威侮五行, 怠棄三正,—these two clauses state the crime of Hoo, but in obscure and mystical terms. Ch'ing defines 五行 by 四時, 'the four seasons,' making the phrase analogous with 五辰 in the 'Yih and Tsch,' p. 47;—see the note there. He calls 三正—天

地人之正道, 'the correct way of heaven, earth, and man,' meaning probably the same with Ma Yung, that the phrase denotes the commencement of the year in 子 the 11th month, or midwinter, which was called the 天正, the commencement in 丑, the 地正, and the commencement in 寅, the first month of spring, the 人正. This last was the beginning of the year with the Hoo dyn.; the Shang began it with the 地正; and the Chow with the 天正. The text would imply, on this view of it, that these diff. commencements had been employed before;—see note on the Canon of Shun, p. 14. If it were so, perhaps the prince of Hoo wanted to begin the year with some other month, as the founder of the Tsin dyn. afterward adopted the month 亥, the 10th, the first month of winter. Mou K'e-ling's view of the subject is not unreasonable. He considers these two clauses as an obscure intimation from K'e that Hoo refused to acknowledge him as the right successor of Yu. This is an old view. Tsou had been succeeded by Shun, as the worthiest man in the empire, and

Shun had been succeeded by Yu. Why should Yu's throne descend to his son? This afforded the pretext for rebellion. Mou further tries to show that by the language used K'e makes the rebellion a crime against Heaven, and not merely an attempt against himself. See the

尚書廣聽錄 in loc. We can hardly doubt that the object of the expedition was to put down a dangerous rival.

天用勳絕其命,—勳 is given in the 說文 as 剝 and defined by 絕; 命 is not to be taken as—'life,' but the position of the prince of Hoo, as invested with that principality, though, in being deprived of that, we may presume, he would pay the forfeit of his life as well; 用—'on this account,' as in the 'Yih and Tsch,' p. 5, et al.

P. 4. Rules to be observed by the troops. 左不攻于左云云—左—車左, 'the left of the chariot,' 右—車右, 'the right of the chariot.' It appears that in the warfare of those early times, chariots were much used in China, as in other nations in a similar or less advanced stage of civilization,—among the ancient Galls and Britons, for instance. The ordinary war-chariot for the troops contained only three men,—an archer on the left, a soldier armed with javelin and pike or spear on the right, and the charioteer in the centre. This continued down to the Chow dynasty;—see the 集傳 and 後案, in loc.

攻—治, 治其事, 'do your work,' i.e., observe the rules laid down for your guidance. So, also, 非其馬之正; comp. Merwins, Bk. III, Pt. II, i. 4. [The pictures of those chariots are not unlike those given of similar war material on Egyptian and Assyrian monuments.]

P. 5. The martial law of K'e;—rewards and punishments. 用命, 賞于祖, 不用命, 戮于社—祖—遷廟之祖主, 'the spirit-tablets of his ancestors which had been removed from the regular hall of ancestral worship to the special shrines appointed for them';—see on The Doctrine of the Mean, Ch. xix. So 社—社主, 'the tablets of the spirits of the land.' It would appear from this, that it was the practice of the emperors, when they went on a warlike expedition, to carry with them these two classes of tablets, that they might have with the host, hovering about them, the spirits of their ancestors and the tutelary spirits of the country or dynasty. A variety of passages are adduced to prove the existence of the practice in the Chow dynasty;—it had come from the earlier time. Those tablets were to K'e and his army like the ark of God in the camp of the Israelites. Martial law also was executed before them. And strict law it was.

子則孥戮汝—孥 is defined by Gan-kwō and others by 子, 'children.' But it may

亂其紀綱，乃底  
冀方，今失厥道，  
惟彼陶唐，有此  
不亡。○其<sup>七</sup>三曰，  
有一于此，未或  
嗜音，峻宇彫牆，  
外作禽荒，甘酒  
有之，內作色荒，  
敬。○其<sup>六</sup>二曰，訓  
人上者，奈何不

The ruler of men—

How can he be but reverent of his duty?"

6 The second said,

"It is in the lessons:—

When the palace is a wild of lust,

And the country a wild for hunting;

When wine is sweet, and music the delight;

When there are lofty roofs and carved walls,—

The existence of any one of these things,

Has never been but the prelude to ruin."

7 The third said,

"There was the prince of T'au and T'ang,

Who possessed this country of K'e.

Now we have fallen from his ways,

And thrown into confusion his rules and laws;

The consequence is extinction and ruin."

適卑曰臨，'when the high go to the low, the action is called *lin*.' Ming-shing

quotes from Hwas-an's 說林訓君

子居民上，若腐索御奔馬，

and from Confucius in the 家語致思

幕懷懷焉若持腐索之扞

馬，—passages very like this, but as likely to

have been suggested by it as to have suggested

it. He also contends that it was not till the

T'au dynasty that the emperor used six horses

in his carriage. The point is by no means

certain. On the rhymes in this song, see

Maou K'e-ling, on 'The Wrongs of the Old

Text of the Shoo,' Bk. III.

P. 6. The song of the second brother.—On the

disipation and extravagance of T'ao-k'ang. Gan-

kwō defines 荒 here by 迷亂, 'led astray

and disordered.' Such a meaning of the term,

however, is not justified by examples. Its

proper signification of 'a wild' answers suf-

ficiently. 內外, 'within' and 'without,'—

'the palace' and 'the country.' 禽荒—禽

includes 獸. In the 國語, 越語, 下

we read—王其且馳騁弋獵, 無

至禽荒, 宮中之樂, 無至酒

荒. 音—八音, 'the eight kinds of

musical instruments; here—'music' generally.

Mencius might seem to have had this

passage in view, when he spoke as in VII.

Bk. II, xxxiv.

P. 7. The song of the third brother.—How the

imperial patrimony was lost, 惟彼陶唐,

—there was that T'au and Tang. No

doubt it is T'au who is here intended. He

ascended the throne from being prince of

T'ang, the name of which remains in the dis.

of Tang, dep. of Paou-ting, Chih-le. [Others,

however, will have it that the principality of

T'ang was in the pres. district of T'ao-yuen,

dep. T'ao-yuen, in Shan-se.] Before he ruled

in T'ang, he had been princelet, it is said, in

T'au, referred to the dis. of Ting-t'au, dep.

T'ao-chow, Shan-tung. [Others will have it

that T'au lived first in T'ang, and then in

T'au.—So uncertain are such early matters.]

T'ao says that when raised to the empire, he

made T'au his capital. [In this case T'au



# 謹王保徵訓有衆予曰于 天克先定明謨聖有嗟衆

- 2 II. He made an announcement to his hosts saying, "Ah! ye, all my troops, there are the well counselled instructions of the sage founder of our dynasty, clearly verified in their power to give stability and security to the State:—The former kings were carefully

for 肇位四海 we should say 始卽位臨御四海. 命 must be taken passively,—was charged,—was appointed. 掌六師,—to handle the six armies. The prince of Yin was raised to the office of 大司馬, made, in our phraseology, commander-in-chief of the imperial forces. 六師—六

軍, 'the six armies,' indicated in Book II, as forming the military force of the emperor;—see on Ana. VII. x. 2. This was the first step of Chung-k'ang on his accession to the throne,—to put his armies in the charge of the prince of Yin. The editors of Yung-ching's Shoo give their opinion that Chung-k'ang succeeded his brother in Yang-ho, and that he was not in possession of Yu's capital called Gan-yih (安邑), and the name of which still remains in the dis. of Gan-yih, in the small dep. of K'iao (解州), separated by the pre-dynasty from Ping-yang. They suppose that E kept him as well as Ts'ao-kang from all the country north of the Ho. This is against the view of Gan-k'wé and Ying-t'ü, that E called Chung-k'ang to the throne in the room of his brother. Looking at the text, I cannot suppose that Chung-k'ang reigned only over part of the empire. The phrases 四海 and 六師 would seem designed as a protest against such a view. Then he is represented as exercising an authority quite independent in the appointment of the prince of Yin, and sending him subsequently against He and Ho. How it was that Chung-k'ang could possess such an authority, situated as he was between his brother, whom E kept from the best part of the empire, and his son whom E cast out of the whole of it,—this is a historical difficulty which we have not facts enough to enable us to solve. There is much speculation about it among the critics. The wisest course in such a case is to rest contented in our ignorance.

義和廢厥職. 酒荒于厥邑.—this He and Ho would be descendants—sons or grandsons—of the ministers of Yao; and Ts'ao says that the different offices sustained by them in Yao's time had now been united in one. We need not think so. He and Ho here may very well be the chiefs of the two families, as they rather seem to be in the Chu. of Yao, p. 3. On Ts'ao's view,

厥邑 will be singular, and Ganbil has accordingly translated 'leur ville.' As they were 卿 or high nobles in the employment of the emperor, their cities would be in the territory next to the imperial domain, the first hundred li of the How shu, and probably not far from each other. The phrase 廢厥職, in conn. with the next clause, implies that they had both neglected their duty and abandoned their posts.

酒荒.—comp. 色荒 in the last Book, p. 3. 胤后.—not 胤侯 as above. Ts'ao observes that when the princes of the empire took up their residence at court as high ministers, their style was changed from 侯 to 后.

Some time may have elapsed between the prince of Yin's being appointed commander of the imperial armies and his receiving this commission to punish He and Ho; but we naturally conclude that he led all his powers against them. And was it necessary to do this? They were not living in their own fiefs, surrounded by other nobles yielding a reluctant submission to their suzerain. This circumstance harmonizes with the view that He and Ho were in league with E, and that the main object intended by such a display of force was to overawe that dangerous chief, and to weaken his power by cutting off his confederates.

Ch. II. Pp. 2—7. THE SPEECH OF THE PRINCE OF YIN. Pp. 2, 3. Principles of the State for the guidance of officers and others;—preparatory to the introduction and condemnation of He and Ho.

2. 嗟.—the speech begins like that at Kan, Bk. II, p. 2. 聖有謨訓明

徵定保.—the 聖 here must refer to Yu. The 'Daily Explanation' paraphrases the passage thus.—我夏聖祖大禹著有謨訓, 其言皆明切徵驗, 可以定國保邦. It is quoted in the 左傳, 襄二十一年, with 勳 for 訓.—聖有謨勳, 明徵定保. A meaning is there also put upon it not so natural as that which I give to it here. What follows are the counsels of Yu. The 'Daily Explanation' goes on to paraphrase them with a—謨訓有曰. Liu Che-k'e observes that 謨 means the counsels offered by a minister to his sove-

a boat on it, while three thousand people would make their appearance at beat of drum and drink up the liquor like so many oxen. All government was neglected. In the mean time the avenger was growing up. Tang succeeded to his father's principality, a.c. 1783, and soon drew the regards of all thoughtful men to himself. The great officers who felt ashamed of K'ei's vices, and mourned the condition of the empire, betook themselves to Shang; the people who groaned beneath the oppression of their lords, too many of whom followed K'ei's example, sighed for the gentle rule of Tang. The emperor was roused to fits of jealousy, and at one time got Tang in his power, and imprisoned him. He let him go, however; and at last, a.c. 1795, after many

misgivings, Tang took the field against his sovereign. There could be no doubt as to the result. Heaven and earth combined with men to show their detestation of the tyrant. Two suns fought in the sky. The earth shook. Mountains were moved from their strong foundations. Rivers were dried up. K'ei was routed, and fled south to Ts'ou, which is still the name of a district in the dep. of Loo-chow (蘇州), in Ngan-hwuy, and there he was kept a prisoner till his death three years after. His son and some of his adherents made their way to the wilds of the north, and mingled among the barbarous tribes.

Thus miserably ended the dynasty of Hsia, having extended, including the usurpations of E and Tsuh, over 489 years.



## THE SHOO KING.

### PART IV. THE BOOKS OF SHANG.

#### BOOK I. THE SPEECH OF TANG.

商書 湯誓  
王曰：格爾  
衆庶，悉聽  
朕言，非台  
小子，敢行  
稱亂，有夏  
多罪，天命  
殛之。○今

1. I. The king said, "Come, ye multitudes of the people, listen all to my words. It is not I, the little child, who dare to undertake what may seem to be a rebellious enterprize; but for the many crimes of the sovereign of Hea Heaven has given the charge to destroy him.

NAME OF THE PART.—商書, 'The Books of Shang.' 商 (the reader will distinguish the character from 尙, which is the title given to the whole of the Shoo. A Chinese scholar can discriminate them by their different tones) is the dynastic designation by which Tang and his descendants possessed the empire, a.c. 1765—1123, a period of 644 years. The family traced their origin up to Hwang-te, through Ssi (勢), a son of the emperor Ku, and minister of Instruction to Yao and Shun. For his services at that time he was invested with the principality of Shang, a part or the whole of the territory now forming the small department of Shang in Suen-se, and received the surname of Tsz (子). From Ssi to Tang were fourteen generations; and we find the latter at a considerable distance from the ancestral fief, and having his capital in the first place, before he dethroned Kio, at the southern P'ü, which seems

correctly referred to the dis. of Shang-k'ew (商邱), dep. of Kwei-tih, in Ho-nan. The title of the dynasty, however, was derived from the original Shang to which Ssi was appointed.

We saw, on the 9th paragraph of the Preface, that more than one half the documents originally composing this Part of the Shoo were lost, while of the 11 Books which still claim to be received in it there are only 5 whose genuineness is not contested.

NAME OF THE BOOK.—湯誓, 'The Speech of Tang.' We must regard 湯, not as the honorary posthumous title, but as the designation of the emperor during his lifetime;—see in the note on the Canon of Yao, par. 1. His name, as we have it from himself, was Le (履). Sze-ma Ts'een says it was 天乙, of which I have not met with a satisfactory explanation.

誓,—see on 'The Speech at Kao.'

亡固存邦乃其  
昌○德日新萬  
邦惟懷志自滿  
九族乃離王懋  
昭大德建中于  
民以義制事以  
禮制心垂裕後  
昆子聞曰能自  
得師者王謂人  
莫已若者亡好

- 8 "When a sovereign's virtue is daily being renewed, he is cherished throughout the myriad States; when he is full of his own will, he is abandoned by the nine classes of his kindred. Exert yourself, O king, to make your great virtue illustrious, and set up the *pattern of the Mean* before the people. Order your affairs by righteousness; order your heart by propriety:—so shall you transmit a grand example to posterity. I have heard the saying:—'He who finds instructors for himself, comes to the supreme dominion; he who says that others are not equal to himself, comes to ruin. He who likes to ask becomes enlarged; he who uses *only* himself becomes small.'

This par. is partially and imperfectly quoted in the **左傳** three times. The first is under

the 12th year of duke 宣; the second, under the 14th year of 襄; and the third, under the 20th year also of 宣. See the arguments that have been raised on the first quotation against the genuineness of this Book, in Ming-shing's 後案, and the reply of Maou K'e-hing, in the 'Wrecks of the old Text of the Shoo,' Book V, upon the 'Announcement of Chung-hway.' The quotations certainly prove that we are not to look for verbal accuracy in passages adduced from the classics in the **左傳**, and I will add other ancient Books.

8 The above paragraph contained counsels of administration; in this the minister becomes more personal, and tells Tang what he must do in the government of himself.

**德日新**—乃離—these are general propositions, the personal application of which commences with the next clause—**王懋昭大德**. Ts'ao ingeniously suggests that the inscription about daily renovation on Tang's bathing-tub, 'Great Learning,' C, II, 1, may have been in consequence of Chung-hway's remark here—**德日新**

**建中于民**—comp. 允執厥中, in the Counsels of Yu, p. 18.

**以義制事**—**以禮制心**—'righteousness' is what the judgment of the mind determines to

be 'right' in reference to what is beyond ourselves; 'propriety' is the regulation of our own feelings and behaviour, in accordance with all the Heaven-established relations of society.

**垂裕後昆**—in the Counsels of Yu, p. 18, we had **昆** in the sense of 'afterwards.' Here, joined with **後**, the phrase **後昆**—'future fatality,' 'future ages.' The 'Daily Explanation' paraphrases the clause:—**且非特**

**可建中于民也**, 即垂諸後世. 凡子孫之欲制事制心者, 其家法自足相承而有餘裕矣. 予聞云云.—all this is intended to inculcate humility on Tang.

**王**,—low, 3d tone, 'to exercise, or come to exercise, the imperial authority';—it often occurs in Mencius.

**莫已若者**—**莫若已者**—an instance of the negative adverb attracting the pronoun to itself.

In **Shun-tao**, 堯問篇, we find **其在仲藹** (must be for 勉) 之言也, 曰, 諸侯自爲得師者王, 得友者霸, 得疑者存, 自爲謀而莫已若者亡. And in **Len Puh-wel**, **Law Hsiang**, and other later writers, we have



天孚佑下民，罪人黜伏，天命弗僭，賁若草木，兆民允殖。○俾予一人，輯寧爾邦，家茲朕未知，獲戾于上下，慄慄危懼，若將隕于深淵。

- 5 the favour of Heaven on behalf of you, my multitudes. High Heaven truly showed its favour to the inferior people, and the criminal has been degraded and subjected. Heaven's appointment is without error;—brilliantly now like the blossoming of flowers and trees, the millions of the people show a true reviving.
- 6 III. "It is given to me, the one man, to give harmony and tranquillity to your States and Families; and now I know not whether I may not offend the powers above and below. I am fearful and trembling, as if I should fall into a deep abyss.

time of the 'Announcement' but to a time subsequent to both, towards the close of the seven years of drought which followed his assumption of the empire. If all the discrepancies tell against the genuineness of the 'Announcement,' they tell as much against the 'Speech,' as it is found both in Fuh-shang's text, and in that attributed to Gan-kwō. Keang Shing, aware of this, edits the 'Speech of T'ang' with the addition of the par. from the Analects, and of the sentence 聿求元聖云云 from Mii-tsz. But if he take one part from Mii, why should he not take the whole? We need not wonder that we should meet with such difficulties. Our course seems to be to state them, and where no satisfactory solution of them presents itself, to leave them, without reasoning from them against the modern text or the ancient.

P. 5. The righteousness of T'ang's dethronement of K'ei proved by the sun, and consequent prosperity.

孚一信, 'truly.' So 允 in the last clause. Hwang Too (黃度) puts the first clause very plainly:—天佑下民。

信矣。罪人, 'the criminal,' this of course is K'ei. 天命弗僭—僭—

差, 'in error.' 'The appointment of Heaven' is the withdrawal of its favour from Hsü, and the conferring of it on Shang,—the calling T'ang to the throne in the room of K'ei.

賁若草木, 兆民允殖—this is a passage which has wonderfully exercised the ingenuity of the interpreters. 賁 (read pe)—

飾 'to adorn,' 'to be ornamented.' What is it that the adorning is here predicated of? The

two K'ungs, Gan-kwō and Ying-ai, say—'the empire.' The language of the former is:—'The evil-doer being cut off from the empire, all is brilliantly adorned, and beautiful as flowers and trees, while the people truly enjoy their life.' Choo He takes the clauses as expletives of the preceding 天命弗僭, and the whole — 'What Heaven appoints is entirely right;—the world of things and the world of men are made beautiful and happy by it.' The editors of Yang-ching's Shoo give a great variety of views, several preferable, they say, to that of Gan-kwō, but none so good as that of Choo He. I prefer to abide by the oldest view.

Ch. III. Pp. 6-9. T'ANG'S FEELINGS AND PURPOSES IN THE FORFEITURE OF THE THRONE, AND WISH FOR THE CO-OPERATION OF HIS PRINCES AND PEOPLE.

6. 俾予一人—this clause and the next would seem to flow on from something preceding, and in some editions it is given as belonging to p. 8, in which case 上天 would

be the nominative to 俾. Whether we do so join it, or take the 俾 as I have done in the translation, the 'gift' must be understood as from Heaven.

茲朕未知獲戾于上下—茲, 'now,' might very well be taken as beginning a new par. 戾—罪

上下,—as in par. 3. Gan-kwō makes the whole to be a humble expression of doubt in T'ang's mind whether he had really been right in dethroning K'ei.—I do not know whether I may not have offended, &c. But we must suppose T'ang to have now done with K'ei. The prec. chapter shows him sufficiently assured on the subject of his dealings with him.

Mii-tsz, in the passage referred to on p. 4, has

呼、嗣王祗厥身、  
念哉、聖謨洋洋、  
嘉言孔彰、惟上  
帝不常、作善降  
之百祥、作不善  
降之百殃、爾惟  
德罔小、萬邦惟  
慶、爾惟不德、罔  
大、墜厥宗。

- 8 IV. "Oh! do you, who *now* succeed to the throne, revere *these* instructions in your person. Think of them!—Sacred counsels of vast importance, admirable words forcibly displayed. *The ways of God are not invariable;—on the good-doer He sends down all blessings, and on the evil-doer He sends down all miseries. Do you be but virtuous, without consideration of the smallness of your actions, and the myriad regions will have cause for congratulation. If you be not virtuous, without consideration of the greatness of your actions, they will bring the ruin of your ancestral temple.*"

CH. IV. P. 8. THE INSTRUCTIONS CONCLUDED.—A SOLEMN ADMONITION TO T'AI-K'IA TO FOLLOW THE EXAMPLE OF T'ANG, AND TAKE HEED TO HIS WAYS.

祗厥身—*you might translate this—'be reverent of his person,' but the commentators generally prefer to make the lessons of the last par. the object of 祗, and expand the passage by 敬之于身, 'respect them in his person.'* 洋洋—*'vast; comp. 'Doctrine of the Mean,' xvi, 3.*

孔—大, 'great,' or 'greatly.' 爾惟德云云—*Liu Che-k'e has said on this passage:*

—K'ung of Han says, "Cultivate your virtue, and not on a small scale; then the whole empire will have cause for congratulation. Do what is not virtuous, and that not on a great scale, and you will overthrow your ancestral temple. These are the instructions of E, showing his true royalty." The meaning of K'ung was that the emperor's virtue must be extremely great, and then he would make the myriad

regions happy, while for the overthrow of his ancestral temple it was not necessary that his want of virtue should be great; and this advice showed the true devotion of E Yin. K'ung of Tang lost this meaning of *Gan-kwō*, and explains it thus:—

爲善無小, *i.e.*, all states will rejoice in your little virtue, and how much more will they do so if it be great!

爲惡無大, *i.e.*, a little wickedness will overthrow your ancestral temple, and how much more will great wickedness do so! These

two expressions—罔小罔大 are antithetic, but their meaning is the same. Liu then endeavours to show that *Gan-kwō's* interpretation is the only one admissible. The antithetic phrases are certainly somewhat perplexing. I consider that the one of them supposes also the other. 罔小 is equivalent to—'be it small or large; and 罔大 to—'be it large or small.' The tendency of virtue and vice, without reference to their amount or degree, is as severally represented.



正。爰。有。以。天。天。德。咸。躬  
○。革。之。有。明。心。克。有。賢  
非。夏。師。九。命。受。享。一。湯。

make lord of all the spirits. Then there were I, Yin, and T'ang, both possessed of pure virtue, and able to satisfy the mind of Heaven. He received in consequence the bright favour of Heaven, and became master of the multitudes of the nine provinces, and

this pure and constant virtue.' The translation shows that I take a different view of the phrase here. There was no virtue at all about K'ao; it seems absurd to make K'ao speak of him as if there could have been expected from him virtue of the highest style.

慢神虐民. —comp. last Book, Pt. III, p. 1. 神 here is equivalent to 鬼神 there.

有命. —Gan-k'wo says for this—有天命者開導之, 'to guide on the possession of the decree of Heaven.' Lin Che-k'wo, more correctly and as in the translation, expands—擇其將有天命而開導之. 眷求一德. —'德' is not 'one virtue,' but 'virtue all-one.' T's'ao says that it means—純一之德, 不雜不息之義. 即上所謂常德也. 'virtue pure and one, unmingled, unceasing, what is called above "constant virtue." It is the 誠, 'the singleness or sincerity,' of the 'Doctrine of the Mean,' by which the three virtues of knowledge, magnanimity, and energy are carried into effect.

神主. —'lord of the spirits.' T's'ao says:—神主百神之主. 'By 神主, is meant lord of the hundred (=all the) spirits.' It is a name for the emperor as chief of the religion of the empire,—in our phrase, 'Head of the Church' of China. Cheang Kew-shing observes:—The sovereign is lord of all the spirits. Thus we read in the Shu King (Pt. III, Bk. II, Ode viii, at 3), "May you be the lord of all the spirits!" Being lord of the spirits, it follows that he is lord of the people. On the other hand we read in the "Many Regions," (Pt. V, Bk. XVIII, p. 6)—"Heaven on this sought a lord of the people." Being lord of the people, it follows that he is lord of the spirits. This is to the effect that the 'Head of the Church' is the 'Head of the State' as well, and that either of the designations must be understood as inclusive of the other.

The term 主, however, cannot be taken with the same force exactly in both the phrases. The 'lord of the people,' is high above them, their ruler; the 'lord of the spirits' is only the president and director in their worship.

[A passage in the Record of Rites, Bk. 祭法, par. 3, makes this modified meaning of the term 'lord,' as applied to the emperor in his relation to 'spirits,' very plain. It is there said—有天下者祭百神, 諸侯在其地則拜之. 'The possessor of the empire sacrifices to all the spirits; the princes only sacrifice to those that are within their territories.' As sacrificing to the spirits, the emperor is their host (主人). In this passage of the 'Laws of Sacrifice,' I know that the hundred 神 are the *shis* of the hills, rivers, forests, valleys, &c., and do not embrace the spirits of heaven or those of men. It was probably this prerogative of the emperor to sacrifice to all of these which first originated the designation of him as 百神之主. But the phrase has now a wider application. Gan-k'wo says that the 神主 in the text—天地神祇之主, 'lord of the spirits of heaven and the spirits of the earth.']

克享天心. —享 is taken here as—當, 'to be suitable to,' 'to correspond to,' Ying-t'ao says:—When one's virtue corresponds to the mind of the spirits, then they accept his offerings (德當神意, 神乃享之); hence 享 is to be taken as—當. This is beating about for a meaning.

受天明命. —there can be no doubt as to the meaning of 明命 here. Compare last Book, Pt. I, p. 2.

爰革夏正. —爰—於是, 'and thereupon.' The dict. calls the char. 引詞, 'a connective conjunction.'

T'ang made the year commence in 丑, the last month of winter, instead of the beginning of spring, after the practice of the Hsia dyn. Lin Che-k'wo says that from the language here we may infer that the alteration of the commencement of the year began with T'ang, and was unknown before the Shang dyn. Whether this practice began with T'ang or not is a

萬夫之長，可以觀德，七世之廟，生○鳴呼，底○烝民之，王之祿永，心克綏先，曰一哉王，哉王言又，姓咸曰大。

- 9 is conformity to the uniform decision of the mind. Such virtue will make the people with their myriad surnames all say, 'How great are the words of the king!' and also, 'How single and pure is the king's heart!' It will avail to maintain in tranquillity the great possession of the former king, and to secure for ever the happy life of the multitudes of the people.
- 10 IV. "Oh! to retain a place in the seven-shrined temple of ancestors is a sufficient witness of virtue. To be acknowledged as chief by the myriad heads of families is a sufficient witness of one's government.

of all good actions. By what model shall a man order his conduct that it shall always be virtuous? No invariable model can be supplied to him. But let him have a chief regard to this point,—that his actions be good, and he will not go far wrong. 主, —as in Ana. I., viii., 2. But what is to be the decisive characteristic of what is good? The answer to this question is in the last clause,—**協于克**—, 'harmony in attaining to the one.' It is not easy to say precisely what is meant. Tsze says the idea is not far different from that of Confucius in his famous saying,—**吾道一以貫之** (Ana. IV., xv.) The — has reference to the — **德**, which is in the title of the Book. Man has a monitor in regard to what is good and what is evil in his own breast. Let him only give a uniform obedience to the voice of this monitor, and his whole conduct will be ordered virtuously.

2. The happy and great results of such a virtuous course.

**俾一使**, 'will cause.' A nominative is to be brought on from the last paragraph.

**大哉王言**, —the 'words of the king' are those published in his ordinances of State.

**克綏先王之祿** —the same nominative is to be supplied to **克**

as to **俾**. **祿** is the **天祿**, 'Heaven-conferred revenues,' of the 'Council of Yu,' par. 17.

Ch. IV. Pp. 10, 11. THE CHARACTER OF ONE'S GOVERNMENT AND VIRTUE WILL COMMAND ACKNOWLEDGMENT IN THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE. THE SOVEREIGN SHOULD BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT HELP TO HIS VIRTUE FROM THE LOWEST OF THE PEOPLE.

**七世之廟** — the ancestral temple of seven generations.

The emperors had in their ancestral temple the shrines with the spirit-tablets of seven of their ancestors; —see on the 'Doctrines of the Mean,' xix. 4. But in the case of an emperor's possessing great merit, having displayed great virtue and rendered great services to his dynasty, his shrine might remain in addition to the seven regular shrines of the temple. This seems to be the motive presented to T'ae-k'ang,—that by being greatly virtuous, he might insure to all time a niche—a shrine—in the ancestral temple, and be looked up to by his descendants to the latest period of his dynasty.

**萬夫之長**, —Lin Che-k'ue observes that **萬夫**—**萬姓** or **萬民**, 'the myriad surnames,' or 'the myriads of the people,' and that the whole phrase is equivalent to **天子**, or 'emperor.' No doubt this explanation is correct, and I suppose that **夫** is to be taken in the sense of 'husband,' or head of a family. The idea is that when all the people readily submit to the emperor, the excellence of his government may be predicated.

[No little controversy has been raised on this paragraph, and especially on the clause—**七世**

**之廟**. That the imperial temple of ancestors in the Chow dynasty was fitted up with seven shrines as the rule is acknowledged on all hands; and there is no intimation in the classical books, or in any writings of a high antiquity,—with perhaps one exception, which will be pointed out,—that the practice was different under the dynasties of Shang and Hsia. About the middle of the second century of our era, Wei Yuan-shing (韋元成), a great scholar and minister, put forth the view that under the Shang dynasty, the shrines in the imperial temple



# THE BOOKS OF SHANG.

## BOOK VIII. THE CHARGE TO YUE. PART II.

惟<sup>一</sup>說命總  
百官。○乃  
進于王曰  
鳴呼明王  
奉若天道  
建邦設都  
樹后王君  
公承以大

說  
命  
中

- 1 I. Yuē having received charge to take the presidency of all the  
2 officers, he presented himself before the king, and said, "Oh! intelligent kings act in reverent accordance with the ways of Heaven. The founding of States, and setting up of capitals; the appointing of sovereign kings, of princes and dukes, with their great officers

CONTENTS OF THE SECOND PART. It has already been observed that this Part should be called 'The Counsels of Yuē.' In answer to the charge which he had received, Yuē presents his advice on various points, all connected with the duty of the sovereign, and the successful conducting of government. In the two last parts, the emperor and the minister give expression to their confidence and complacency in each other.

CH. I. Pp. 1-11. THE COUNSELS OF YUE.  
1, 2. Occasion of the counsels. All government is not for the gratification and glory of the governing, but for the good of the people. 1. 總百官.

一總一將領 'to take the lead of.' Lin Che-k'e understands the phrase as denoting that Yuē continued to act as the representative of the emperor, doing everything for him, as the prime minister did during the period of mourning. Perhaps it was so. Woo-ting had said that his 'good assistant' should speak for him.

2. 進于王. 進 may be taken as in the translation, or we may understand 諄 as the object of the verb. With regard

to what follows—鳴呼, 明王, 云云, there is considerable difficulty. 明王 would seem to be the subject of all the verbs that follow.—奉若, 建設, and 樹. 后王, 'sovereign king,' is understood to be a designation of the emperor (天子), and 君公 to stand for 諸侯 all the feudal princes under him. In this way, 明王 must be taken as singular, and to have reference to the first sovereign, the founder of the Chinese empire. This was the view of Gauthier. He translates:—'Le roi intelligent, qui autrefois se conforma avec respect à la loi du ciel, fonda l'empire et établit une cour. Il assigna des lieux où devaient résider le roi, les grands vassaux, et les grands officiers. Ces princes intelligents ne s'occupèrent pas des plaisirs; il n'eut que le gouvernement du peuple en vue.' To this translation he appends the following note:—'Here Yuē speaks of the first king of China, but what follows does not give us any light on the time when he reigned. One might still translate, it appears to me, in the plural, and say—the intelligent kings, the

which made him say that he would greatly advance the fortunes of their House. In consequence of this, his two eldest sons, T'ao-pih (太伯; see *Conf. Ana.*, VIII., 1.) and Chung-yung (仲雍; *ibid.*, 虞仲) both declined the dukedom of Chow in favour of Ke-leih, the first year of whose rule, as duke of Chow, dates in a.c. 1228.

Sze-sua T'een says that T'ao-k'as was lewd and disorderly (淫亂), and reigned only 16 years.

[iii.] Lin-sin (廩辛) succeeded to his father T'ao-k'as, a.c. 1224, and died after a short reign of six years. That is all history records of him.

[iv.] Lin-sin was followed by his brother K'ang-ting (庚丁), who occupied the throne 21 years.

[v.] Woo-yih (武乙), the son of K'ang-ting, commenced his brief reign of 4 years in a.c. 1197. On this 1st year, or in the year after, he removed the capital from P'ö once more to the north of the Ho, somewhere in the dep. of Wei-hwuy, Ho-nan. He may have done this to be nearer the eastern part of the empire, which was disturbed in his time by risings of the wild tribes between the Hwas and mount T'ao.

Woo-yih occupies an unenviable place in the annals of China, many attributing to him the first making of idols in China;—see Morrison's 'View of China for Philological purposes,' and De Mallia's History, Vol. I, p. 217. The action on which the charge is based, however, was more that of a madman than of a devotee, a freak of licentious folly, and not the birth of any religious feeling, however perverted. Sze-sua T'een simply tells us:—武乙無道，爲偶人，謂之天神，與之博，令人爲行，天神不勝，乃僇辱之，爲革囊盛血，仰而射之，命曰射天。 'Woo-yih was without

any right principles. He made the image of a man, and called it "the Spirit of Heaven." Then he gamed with it' (博—'played dice, or at chess'), causing some one to play for the image. "The spirit of Heaven" was unsuccessful, on which he disgraced it, and made a leather bag which he filled with blood, and then placed aloft and shot at' (the image probably was in the bag as well), 'calling this "shooting at Heaven." This is all the account we have in the 'Historical Records.' De Mallia, I imagine, is seeking for himself the narrative which he gives, that the emperor 'required all the people to adore the image, and address their vows to it.'

In the 4th year of his reign, while hunting between the Ho and the Wei, Woo-yih suddenly died. T'een says that he was struck dead by lightning; and people recognize in that event the just and appropriate vengeance of Heaven which he had incurred.

[vi.] Woo-yih was succeeded by his son T'ao-ting, whose brief reign of three years ended a.c. 1191.

[vii.] Te-yih (帝乙), the son of T'ao-ting, succeeded to his father, and reigned for 27 years, dying in a.c. 1184. During his time the House of Chow greatly increased in power and grew in favour with the people throughout the empire. In the previous reign duke Ke had signalized himself by repelling the incursions of certain wild hordes in the north. Having performed several similar exploits in the first year of Te-yih, the emperor gave him the title, first of 'Master of the Pastors' (命爲牧師), and subsequently invested him with the dignity of 'Chief of all the princes' (侯伯).

In a.c. 1184, duke Ke-leih died, and was succeeded by his son Ch'ang, who thenceforth appears in history under the style of the 'Chief of the West' (西伯). The benevolence which he displayed in the govt. of his own principality made the people everywhere long to be under his rule, and the men of greatest virtue and ability began to collect around him. In a.c. 1168, according to the generally acknowledged chronology, his son Fa (紂), afterwards King Woo, the first emperor of the Chow dynasty, was born.

Chow-sin (紂辛) succeeded to the empire, a.c. 1153. He had two brothers older than himself.—K'ö, known as the viscount of Wei (微子啟), and Chung-yen (仲衍); but when they were born, their mother had only a secondary place in the harem. Before the birth of Chow-sin, however, she was raised to the dignity of empress, and she and Te-yih were persuaded, against their better judgment, to name him on that account successor to the throne, in preference to K'ö. He appears in history with all the attributes of a tyrant. His natural abilities were more than ordinary; his sight and hearing were astonishingly acute; his strength made him a match for the strongest animals; he could make the worse appear to be the better reason, when his ministers attempted to remonstrate with him; he was intemperate, extravagant, and would sacrifice everything to the gratification of his passions. He was the first, we are told, to use ivory chopsticks, which made the viscount of Ke (箕子) sorrowfully remonstrate with him. 'Ivory chopsticks,' said he, 'will be followed by cups of gem; and then you will be wanting to eat bears' paws and leopards' wombs, and proceed to other extravagancies. Your indulgence of your desires may cost you the empire.' Such admonitions were of no use.

In a.c. 1148 in an expedition against the prince of Soo (有蘇氏), he received from him a lady of extraordinary beauty, called T'ä-ko (妲己), of whom he became the thrall. It is the story of K'as and Me-ho over again. T'ä-ko was shamelessly lustful and cruel. The most licentious songs were composed for her amusement, and the vilest dances exhibited. The court was at a place in the prez. dis. of K'ö (淇縣), dep. of Wei-hwuy, and there a palace was erected for her, with a famous terrace or



# THE BOOKS OF SHANG.

## BOOK XI. THE VISCOUNT OF WEI.

微子若曰父  
師少師殷其  
弗或亂正四  
方我祖底遂  
陳于上我用  
沈酗于酒用  
亂敗厥德于  
下○殷罔不

微子

1. The viscount of Wei spoke to the following effect:—"Grand Tutor and Junior Tutor, *the House of Yin*, we may conclude, can no longer exercise rule over the four quarters of the empire. The great deeds of our founder were displayed in former ages, but by our being lost and maddened with wine, we have destroyed the effects

**HISTORICAL NOTE.** The conversation recorded in this Book is referred in the chronology to B.C. 1122, the year immediately following the conquest of Lo, and that in which the dynasty of Shang perished. The chron. does not make mention, indeed, of this document; but it places in the above year the events mentioned in the 18th Bk. of the *Conf. Ann.*, Ch. I.—how the viscount of Wei withdrew from Chow-sin's court, and the viscount of Ke became a slave, while Pe-ku was put to death; and those events are supposed to have followed almost immediately after the conference between the worthies which is here related. Difficulties might be raised against this view; but it is not worth while arguing a point of little importance, and where absolute certainty cannot be attained. The conversation between the viscount of Wei and his friends must have taken place near the time assigned to it,—in one of the closing years of the Shang dynasty.

**NAME OF THE BOOK.**—微子, 'The Viscount of Wei.' This name seems to have been given after the fashion of the Books of the Confucian Analects. The characters begin the Book and are therefore adopted as its name. The Preface speaks of the viscount of Wei making his announcement to the Tutors, and the Book is accordingly placed in the division of 'Announcements.' Like that of the last Book, this arrangement is convenient rather than satisfactory.

Wei (微) was the name of a principality of the 4th order (*Men*, V., Pt. II. 3), the holder of which had the title of 子, which some have translated by 'viscount,' others by 'count,' and others again by 'marquis.' It was within the limits of the imperial domain, in the pres. dis. of Loo-shing (洛城), dep. of Loo-gan (洛陽).

興受其敗，商  
其淪喪，我罔  
爲臣僕，詔王  
子出迪，我舊  
云刻子，王子  
弗出，我乃顛  
隤。○自靖人  
自獻于先王，  
我不顧行遯。

servant of another dynasty. But I tell you, O king's son, to go away as being the course for you. Formerly I injured you by what I said, but if you do not go forth now, our sacrifices will entirely 9 perish. Let us rest quietly in our several parts, and present ourselves to the former kings. I do not think of making my escape.

日所言適以害子，'what I formerly said served to injure you.' It has been mentioned that Te-yih and his empress wished to leave the throne to K'e, and not to Chow-sin, but were dissuaded from the purpose. It is supposed that the text refers to the advocacy at that time by the Grand Tutor of K'e's claims to the throne, which had made him all along an object of jealousy and dislike to Chow.

Gan-kwō takes 刻 as 一病, 'to be distressed for';—see the 註疏 in loc. K'ang Shing, always ready to reject the received text, adopts from Wang Ch'ung (王充) the reading of 孩子; but the meaning which he ingeniously brings out of 舊云孩子 comes in effect to the same thing as that usually followed.

我乃顛隤—It must be understood that the Grand Tutor speaks here of the sacrifices offered to the founder and all the departed emperors of the House of Shang. He must himself have belonged to the Imperial line. If, as is most likely, he was the viscount of Ko, he was an uncle of the emperor;—so the relationship between them is commonly represented. Ts'ao expands the text:—我商家宗祀始隕墜而無所托矣. 9.

They must, each of them, do what they felt to be right. 自靖—靖—安, as in Hk. VII.,

Pt. I, p. 12. Ts'ao says:—各安其義

之所當盡, 'let each man rest in the performance of what his circumstances require him to do.' Gan-kwō, and here for a wonder K'ang Shing is at one with him, takes 靖 in

this pass, and in the P'wan-king, as 一謀, so that 自靖—'take counsel with yourself.' It is difficult to say what is the precise idea in 'presenting themselves to the former kings.' I

think it is this,—that if they did what was right, they should have consciences void of offence, as now beheld by their ancestors, or as hereafter to appear before them. 顯 is used as in

the T'ao-k'ia, Pt. I, p. 1, 顯謨天之明命.

[FATES OF THE MEN MENTIONED IN THIS BOOK.]

The viscount of Wei appears to have acted on the advice given him by the Grand Tutor, and to have withdrawn from the court of Yin. The expression in the Ana, XVIII., 一微子去之, may be considered as proving this. When and how he withdrew, however, it is not possible to ascertain. According to a description in the 左傳 僖

六年, and the account given by Su-ssu Ts'uen, after the death of Chow, he went out to meet King Woo at the head of his army, having with him the sacrificial vessel of the House of Shang. He presented himself in miserable plight, almost naked, with his hands bound behind him, and moving forward on his knees, when King Woo received him honourably, and restored him to his former office, whatever that was. This legend has been called in question. In the next Part of the Shoo we shall meet with the viscount again, and see him finally infeoffed with the principality of Sung, there to continue the representative of the House of Shang.

If the viscount of Ko, whose name was Sou-yu (胥餘), was indeed the Grand Tutor of the text, he did not die with the dynasty, as he seems to have expected. The passage of the Analects referred to says 'he became a slave.' According to Ts'uen, he reproved Chow in the first place, and when his friends urged him to make his escape, he refused, and feigned himself to be mad, allowed his hair to hang about uncared for. King Woo found him in prison, and set him free, when he fled away to Cova. We shall meet with him also again in the next Part.